

A COMPLEAT AND AUTHENTICK
HISTORY
1746 OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS,
AND
EXTINCTION
Of the Late
REBELLION,
And of the
PROCEEDINGS
Against the
PRINCIPAL PERSONS
concerned therein.

CONTAINING

A clear and impartial Narrative of the Intrigues of the PRETENDER's Adherents before the Breaking out of their Design in *North-Britain*; their Proceedings after their taking Arms; the Actions in that Part of the Island before they march'd Southwards; their March to *Derby*, and true Reasons of their Retreat; the Dispute at *Falkirk*, and Motives of their transferring the War into the *Highlands*; with the principal Causes of their Defeat at *Culloden*. Interspersed with the Characters of their chief LEADERS, and a curious Detail of their Negotiations abroad.

The whole compos'd with the greatest Accuracy possible in regard to Facts and Dates, and free from all Mixture of fictitious Circumstances, or ill-grounded Conjectures.

L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe*, in *Pater-noster-Row*.
M DCC XLVII.

A COMPLETE AND AUTHENTIC

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS,

AND

EXTINCTION

Of the Late

REBELLION,



PROCEEDINGS

Against the

PRINCIPAL PERSONS

concerned therein.

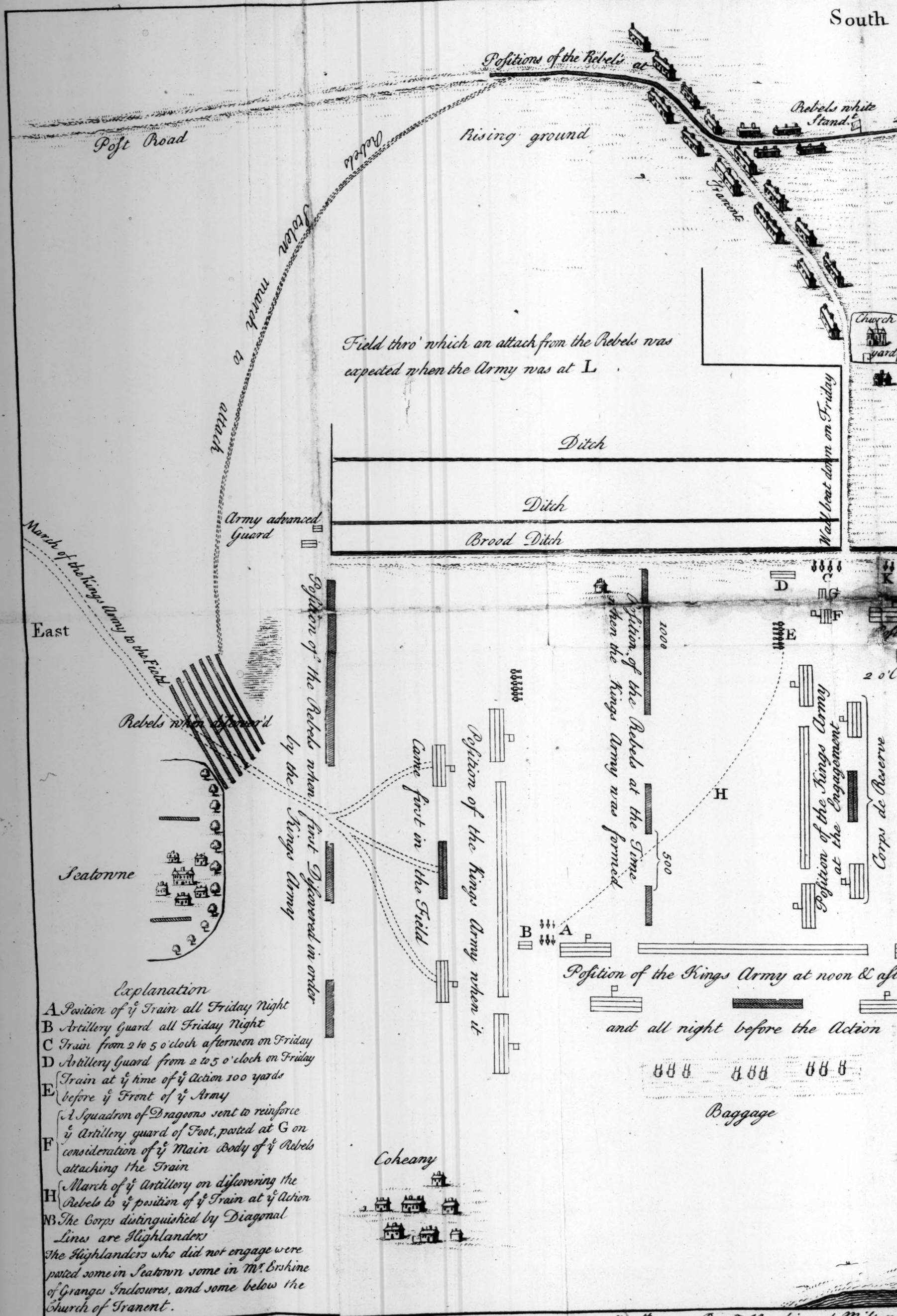
CONTAINING

A clear and impartial Narrative of the Insurrections of the Partisan-
ners' Adherents before the breaking out of their Design in 1795-
1796; their Proceedings after their taking Arms; the Actions
in that Part of the Island before they marched Southwards; their
March to Derby, and the Reasons of their Retreat; the Dispute
at Falkirk, and Motives of their transferring the War into the
Highland; with the principal Causes of their Defeat at Culloden.
Interpersed with the Characters of their chief Leaders, and a
curious Detail of their Negotiations abroad.
The whole compos'd with the greatest Accuracy possible in regard to
Facts and Dates, and free from all Mixture of Adulterous Circum-
stances, or ill-grounded Conjectures.

LONDON:

Printed for M. COOPER, at the Globe, in Paternoster-Row.
MDCCLXVII.

*A PLAN of the ACTION at Seatonme the 21. of Sept. 1745
from the only Correct Draught which was delineated by the Author*

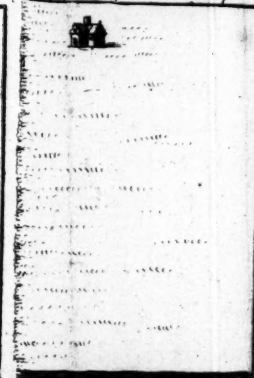


1745 by an Engineer in his Majesty's Service who was present: done
for the use of the Right Hon^{ble} the Earl of Marchmont.

South

white
ad. 2 o'clock Afternoon
Rising ground

Thicket from which the Rebels were
dislodged by the two Cannon at K



Position of the Kings Army from
2 o'clock to 5 in the afternoon of Friday

Corps de Reserve
& afterwards,
tion

North

Sea

Milton Head in Fleet Street Price 1st plain and 2nd Coloured.

March
to
Marchmont

M^r Veskine of Grange's Park wall

Route of the Dragons

Route of the Dragons

Route of the Dragons

West

Little Village

Preston

Part of Preston Pans

P. Fourdrinier Sulp.



A

Succinct HISTORY

Of the Late

REBELLION.



THE Merit of a Performance does not at all depend upon its Subject ; for the lightest may be raised by an able, the most lofty may be injured by a weak and injudicious Pen. This that I have undertaken is not so much the Result of Choice, as of Necessity ; I thought a *succinct History of the Rebellion* equally fit for the Perusal of the present Age, and of Posterity ; and after waiting long to see whether this Task would be undertaken and properly performed by

A

at

an abler Hand, I find myself compelled to try what I can do, because it now becomes visible, that nothing satisfactory will be done. The Event of which I am to speak, though so recent, and so remarkable, is already differently represented by different sorts of People. Some still retain the Terror impress'd by the March of the Rebels to *Derby*, and consider the late Rebellion as an Engine of our Enemies, that brought us to the very Brink of Destruction ; and others affect to treat it as a mere Bugbear, as a Raw-head and Bloody-bones, which only frightened weak Minds, and from which no well-grounded Apprehensions could arise. But strictly speaking, neither of these Representations deserve entire Credit ; the Rebellion was certainly alarming, though not terrible, and a Mischief so great, that no Care ought to be spared to prevent any thing of the like Kind in Times to come ; and to this End nothing in my Judgment can more contribute, than a History of the Past, fairly written.

As soon as a War broke out upon the Continent, it was very easy to foresee that something of this sort would be attempted, as the most effectual Means of forcing us to mind nothing but our own Concerns, and quit all Care of the Ballance: And

as an introductory Experiment to try the Sentiments and Force of this Nation, in order to form a due Notion of our Spirit and Weight, about which some Incertainty might be arisen in the Course of so many Years profound Peace. Besides, this might have been suggested to us by former Instances; so that if we had really wanted the *Penetration* which constitutes *Politicians*, we might have at least profited by the Lights of EXPERIENCE, and by remembering the Lessons she had formerly read us, who is reputed a *Mistress* of such Sagacity, as even to succeed in instructing *Fools*. But it does not appear, that we distinguished ourselves as Proficients in either Method; the Storm came upon us before we looked for it, and even the first Effects of its Fury did not rouse us to proper Attention.

But to proceed regularly, it is requisite to give some Account of the Quarter whence this Storm arose, which is very difficult to be done; however, having taken some Pains to enquire into these Matters, and after diligently comparing the Intelligence procured by such Enquiries, the Result will be found, if not a strict Detection of the first brewing this Rebellion, at least a more intelligible View of the earliest Projects of the Rebels, than has hitherto

to appeared. The *Irish* Partizans of the Chevalier, at the Court of *Madrid*, were the first who proposed an Invasion both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, pretending they had very clear and good Proofs of a strong Spirit of Discontent working in both Countries ; so that with the Support of a small Foreign Force, a Revolution might with Probability of Success be attempted.

This was very well received at *Rome*, the eldest Son of the *Chevalier de St. George*, having studied for some Years every thing he thought requisite to qualify himself for an Expedition of this Nature. But perhaps it had not taken Effect so soon, if his future Secretary Mr. *Murray* had not represented to him, that it was easy to raise the Clans, if he could be sure of any Assistance from *France*. At this very time the *Spaniards* were employed in driving the *French* (who were far from being inclined to it) into a War declared against us ; and Cardinal *Aquaviva* being let into the Secrets of the Chevalier's Intelligence, undertook that his Catholick Majesty should make a Point of this likewise, and oblige *France* to take a part in this Scheme, and grant Prince *Edward* such Succours as might appear requisite for carrying his intended Invasion into immediate Execution.

But

But upon Application to the Court of *Verjailles* many Difficulties arose ; for several of the *French* Ministers being perswaded they had already more upon their Hands than they could well manage, vehemently opposed adding a new and expensive Project, to those with which they were perplexed before. But there were three Persons in the Councils of that Kingdom determined to support this Proposition from very different Motives, who, tho' they did not avow it publicly, were however determined to bring it about. Cardinal *Tencin* owed his Hat to the Chevalier, and was always his declared Partizan; *M. de Saxe* had an irreconcilable and hereditary Hatred to be gratified by this Measure; and *M. de Belleisle* judged it agreeable to his general System, the Basis of which was, that the more his Master's Affairs were embroiled, the more necessary his Services would be, and the more consequently, himself, and his Family consider'd. But tho' these great Men concurr'd in the Design, they would none of them venture proposing to invite the Chevalier or either of his Sons into *France*, but resolved to procure that Step to be taken without Formality, by the Interposition of Cardinal *Aquaviva*, that they might afterwards be able to disavow it.

Accord-

Accordingly this Method was taken, and Cardinal *Aquaviva* solicited the Chevalier to consent to his eldest Son's setting out, even before a formal Invitation came from *Paris*; for he was satisfied, that notwithstanding any Appearances the great Men at that Court might wear, they would be very glad to see and to assist the young Man, who on his Side was so desirous of shewing himself, and so confident of Success, that he never left teasing his Father, whose Experience made him less sanguine, till he obtained his Consent; but this was not till he had certain Advices from *France*, that they were meditating an Invasion on *England*, which was in the Winter of 1743, and then he immediately entered on the necessary Preparations.

It was the Month of *February* 1744, before every thing was ready, and the necessary Remittances fix'd, in case he should think proper to act upon his own Plan of going into *Scotland*, instead of landing with the *French* Troops, who were on the Point of embarking when he left *Rome*. The Manner of his Departure, which was entirely in the *Italian* Strain, and his Journey to *Genoa*, where he took up some Bills of Exchange

which were very *duly paid*, made a fine Piece in *Italian*, which was presented to all the Friends of the Family at *Rome*, and an Extract sent from thence was printed in our *Gazette*, by Authority. On his Arrival at *Paris* he was very coldly received, more especially by some of the Ministry; and the King seemed a little surprized at the Abruptness of his Appearance. But notwithstanding this, some of the Ministers and the Relations of his Family welcom'd him in another Manner, and perswaded him to go and parade at *Dunkirk*, where they were still carrying on the Farce of an Invasion, in which he was brought to act his Part, but with a good deal of Reluctancy. This threw him, in some Measure, out with the Court, and he was left to mind his own Schemes and Projects, without any apparent Countenance all the next Winter.

By this Kind of Management he split his own little Party into Factions, who were as warm in their Debates, as furious in their Contests, and as much soured in their Opinions by these different Sentiments, about the Measures he was to take, as if all their Projects had not been alike empty and chimerical. Those who followed him from *Rome* were absolutely moulded by his Inclinations;

tions ; they were perfect Courtiers, had nothing to lose but their Lives ; and by having experienced a long Scene of Misfortunes, were grown in some measure careless about them. They magnified the Projects, extolled the Courage, and hoped mighty things from the Fortune of their Chief ; his very Person was an Army, and his Presence sufficient to make a whole Nation revolt. The old Cavaliers, who had remained long in Exile in *France*, and were heartily weary of the Usage they had met with, ran very easily into the same Way of thinking, and were eager for entering upon Action. But the wisest Heads, and greatest Men among them, were in Sentiments directly opposite ; they said, he ought well to consider his first Expedition, for if he failed in that, it would never probably be in his Power to make another ; they said, that risking his Person was nothing, in Comparison of risking his Friends ; and that every Measure he took towards raising an unsuccessful Rebellion, was a Step in favour of his Enemies.

The latter Party were so much in Earnest, that they applied to the *French* Court to desire they would interpose, and received a Promise to that Effect. But the *French* Ministers were well enough

ough pleased to see things take this Turn, hoping he would make a desperate Attempt himself, at much less Expence than if abetted by them ; persuaded that whether successful or not, he would do their Business, and create such a Disturbance in *Britain* as might affect our publick Credit. In publick therefore, and even under their Hands they opposed and discountenanced his Scheme for an Invasion, but privately they applauded it, and expressed a vast Confidence in the heroic Disposition of the young P. and made no scruple of saying, that by venturing upon such an Exploit he would surprize his Friends, amaze and confound his Enemies, and put the King and his Ministers under a Necessity of owning, assisting, and supporting him for ever. Thus they managed, cheated, and betray'd both Parties.

The Arrival of the Pretender's eldest Son in *France*, could not but give great Reason to suspect that something was meditating there in his Favour, nor was it long before there were evident Signs of an intended Invasion, tho', as we have shewn, the *French* Court pretended to have no Knowledge of the young Chevalier's Journey ; and it was even suggested by the *French* Party in *Holland*, that M. *Amelot* was removed and disgraced, for having given that young Adventurer those Hopes

which drew him into *France*, However, in the Summer of the Year 1744-5, it was known that some Preparations were privately making for an Expedition into *Scotland*; and a principal Officer in the *French* Navy raised a Company of one hundred Men, under Pretence of the *East-India* Company's Service, which were stiled *Grassins de Mer*, and were handsomely cloathed in Blue faced with Red. They were put on board a Frigate, carrying eighteen Guns; and every thing being now ready, the young Chevalier came privately from the House of the Duke *de Fitz-James* to *Port Lazare* in *Brittany*, where on the fourteenth of *July* he embarked with about fifty *Scots* and *Irish*, in order to have sailed round *Ireland*, and land in the North-West of *Scotland*.

This Frigate of his was joined off *Belleisle* by the *Elizabeth*, a Man of War of sixty-six Guns, which had been taken from us by the *French* in the last War, and was now extreemly well mann'd for this Service. In their Passage she fell in with a Fleet of *English* Merchantmen under the Convoy of three Men of War, one of which, viz. the *Lyon*, commanded by the gallant Captain *Brett*, engaged the *Elizabeth* for nine Hours, but soon after the Engagement began, the Frigate bore away, and continued her intended Voyage. The *Elizabeth*, when
Night

Night came on, made a shift to get away, and returned to *Brest* quite disabled, having her Captain and sixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and thirty dangerously wounded; she had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for several thousand Men, which, no doubt, were to have been landed with the Pretender for the Use of his Adherents.

As for the Frigate before-mentioned, she cruized for some Days between the Islands of *Bara* and *Uyst*, and at last stood in for the Coast of *Lochabar*, and there landed betwixt the Islands of *Mull* and *Skie* the young Chevalier and his Attendants. He went first to the House of Mr. *Macdonald* of *Kenloch-Moidart*, that is, the Head of the Lake *Moidart*, where he remained for some time before he was in any Condition to shew himself in Publick; but about the middle of *August*, being joined by the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, the *Macdonalds* of *Glengary*, the *Stuarts* of *Appin*, and others of the Clans, to the Number of between fifteen hundred and two thousand Men, he resolved to set up his Standard. This was accordingly done, and the Motto he made Choice of was TANDEM TRIUMPHANS, that is, *At length Triumphant*.

About the middle of *August* he appeared with his Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Fort-William*,

and about this Time published several of his Father's Manifesto's; among which one was dated in 1743, which plainly shewed that an Invasion was then intended; another in 1745, declaring his Son Regent; and a third containing large Promises to the People of *Scotland*. Soon after, two Companies of *St. Clair's* Regiment fell in with the Rebels, whom they were sent to reconnoitre, and were most of them taken Prisoners, as Captain *Sweatnam* of *Guy's* Regiment was presently after; but he was released upon his Parole; and it was from this Gentleman that the first distinct Accounts were obtained of the Force, Disposition, and Design of the Rebels, who began then to think themselves strong enough to march Southward, which they very speedily prepared to do.

Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Knight of the *Bath*, was at this Time Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and had the entire Direction of Military Affairs there; in Consequence of which he drew together the Troops then in that Kingdom, armed the Militia, and took such other Precautions as he thought requisite, and at length judged it expedient to march Northward, in order to find out the Enemy, supposing that they would either wait for him at the Chain, which is the Name usually given to the great Road cross
the

the Island from *Inverness* to *Fort-William*, or endeavour to meet and fight him in his Passage; but they did neither: For while the General made a long and fatiguing March to *Inverness*, the Rebels gave him the Slip, and instead of marching through the Pass of *Corryerrock*, they took the Way over the Mountains; and the first News heard of them was, that they had taken Possession of *Perth* on the 4th of *September*, and on the 5th the Pretender was publickly proclaim'd there.

It was now known that several Persons of Distinction had declared for, and were in Arms to assist the Chevalier, particularly the Person call'd the Duke of *Perth*, Chief of the noble Family of *Drummond*, and Son to the Earl of *Perth*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, who followed the Fortunes of the late King *James*, and was by him created a Duke in *France*; the late Marquis of *Tullibardin*, now stiling himself Duke of *Athol*, eldest Son to the late Duke, but attainted for the Share he had in the last Rebellion; Lord *George Murray*, his Brother, and several others; by which their Numbers so much increased, that on the 11th they began their March towards the *Forth*, which River they passed at the *Frews*, by fording it on the 13th, and seem'd to direct their Rout towards
Glasgow,

Glasgow, which City the young Chevalier summoned, but receiving no Answer, they on the 14th diverted their March Eastward towards *Edinburgh*.

In the mean time Sir *John Cope* reached *Inverness*, from whence he dispatched Orders Southward, for Transports to be sent him to *Aberdeen*, in order to bring his Forces back by Sea to the Port of *Leith*; and with this View he marched with all possible Expedition from *Inverness* to *Aberdeen*, where he embark'd his Men, and on the 16th of *September* entered the Harbour of *Dumbar*, where the next Day the Men landed, and on the 18th the Artillery. They were scarce well ashore before they had Advice of the City of *Edinburgh* being in the Hands of the Rebels, with whom the Lord Provost, and some other Magistrates, had a kind of Treaty on the 16th in the Evening, and Terms being settled, the Rebels entered the Place the next Morning about Five o' Clock. General *Guest* had retired into the Castle with a small Number of regular Troops; the Bank, and most of the publick Offices, having been removed into that Fortrefs before. Brigadier *Fowke*, with *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, having joined Sir *John Cope's* Army, they, on the 19th, marched

marched from *Dumbar*, and encamped at Night on the West Side of *Haddingtoun*; the next Morning early they continued their March, and in the Evening reached *Preston Pans*, the *Highlanders* appearing on the high Grounds to the South of them, so that they were very near each other, and some Firing pass'd during the Night.

It is not easy to say, at least with Certainty, of what Number of Men each Army consisted; the Regiments that Sir *John Cope* had with him were Colonel *Gardiner's* and Major-General *Hamilton's* Dragoons, Lieutenant General *Guise's*, Col. *Lee's*, Col. *Murray's*, Col. *Lascelles's*, and the Earl of *Loudon's* Regiments of Foot; but of these there was one only compleat. As for the Rebels, the largest Number mentioned in any of our Accounts, was five thousand, but they owned themselves no more than three Thousand; and it is agreed, that not above one Half of these engaged.

They attacked the King's Troops about Three in the Morning, and the Dragoons breaking on the first Fire, left the Foot exposed to the *Highlanders*, by whom, after a short Dispute, they were defeated, a considerable Number killed, and the best Part of the rest made Prisoners, the few Field-Pieces

Pieces they had with them being likewise taken. The Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume* having rallied the Dragoons, retired with them to *Lauder*, and from thence the next Day to *Berwick*; Brigadier *Fowke*, and Col. *Lascelles* came back to *Dumbar*, and Sir *John Cope* went to *Berwick*. This is, by some, called the Battle of *Preston Pans*, by others the Battle of *Seaton*, from two little Towns near which it was fought; but if it must be stiled a Battle, it is more properly the Battle of *Glaidesmuir*, since that was the Field of Battle, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East from *Edinburgh*.

A LIST of the Officers Killed and Wounded.

Colonel *Gardiner's* Dragoons: Col. *Gardiner*, killed; Lieut. Col. *Whitney*, wounded; Major *Bowles*, wounded.

Hamilton's Dragoons: Lieutenant Col. *Wright*, wounded.

Lascelles's Foot: Capt. *Steuart*, killed; Ensign *Bell*, much wounded.

Murray's: Capt. *Leslie*, slightly wounded: Ensign *Haldane*, dangerously wounded.

Guise's:

Guise's: Capt. Pointz, *dangerously wounded*; Capt. Holwell, *killed*.

Lee's: Capt. Bromer, *killed*; Capt. Rogers, *killed*; Lieut. Col. Whiteford, *slightly wounded*.

The Rebels, after this Engagement, continued at *Diddistoun* and *Musselburgh* on the 22d and 23d, and did not return to *Edinburgh* till the 24th. On the 28th, they sent out Parties to *Haddingtoun* and *Dumbar*, and the same Day they sent away most of the private Men they had taken Prisoners, to *Pertb*. On the 29th, they sent the Officers they had taken thither likewise; and that Evening they began to take their Measures for cutting off all Communication between the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Town, which, considering that they wanted heavy Artillery, and indeed all other Requisites for a Siege, was a very needless and wild Attempt, and served only to expose themselves to considerable Loss, as appeared by the Event, and might have been easily foreseen.

On the first of *October* they opened their Trenches on the *Castle-Hill*, a little below the Reservoir; upon which, they began to fire upon them from

the Castle, killing three Men, and wounding a commanding Officer; so that by Four in the Afternoon they abandoned their Works. The City of *Glasgow* being summoned a second Time, and fifteen thousand Pounds being demanded by way of Contribution, they were constrained to compound the Matter for five thousand Guineas, which were immediately paid. Hostilities continued between the Garrison of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Rebels, till the Fifth in the Evening, when several Houses being beat down by the Artillery, and the Rebels having lost twenty Men in an Attempt to drive Part of the Garrison from the *Castle-Hill*, the Communication between the Town and Castle was restored, and Hostilities ceased.

On the Seventh, the Rebels demanded half a Crown in the Pound from the Landlords of Houses in *Edinburgh*, under Pain of military Execution. About the middle of this Month they were joined by considerable Reinforcements under the Command of several Persons of Distinction, particularly old *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, *Forbes* Lord *Pitsligo*, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and others. They likewise received from Abroad considerable Supplies of Ammunition, military Stores, small Arms, and some Field-Pieces. There was also one Mr. *Boyer*,

or, as he stilled himself, Marquis *de Guilles*, came over in one of these Vessels from *France*, as an Agent, whom they were pleased to dignify with the Title of Ambassador. Towards the latter End of the Month, a great Part of their Army marched to *Dalkeith*, to which Place they removed their Field-Pieces and Ammunition; and having erected a Battery at *Alloway*, to secure the Passage of the *Firth*, they transported from *Montrose*, *Stonehive*, and other Places, the Supplies they had received from Abroad, in one hundred and eighty five Carts, and by other Dispositions plainly shewed that they had taken a Resolution to march Southward, and were in earnest preparing to execute it.

His Majesty, in the mean time, had been pleased to declare Field Marshal *Wade* Commander in Chief of the Army which was intended for the North. Our Forces soon began to move that Way, and the *Dutch* Troops were landed at *Newcastle*, as also Part of the *British* Forces that were recalled from *Flanders*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle*. The *Trial* Sloop likewise brought into *Bristol* a *Spanish* Ship, on board of which were two thousand five hundred Fusils with Bayonets, and one hundred Barrels of Gunpowder, seven Chests of Money, &c. design'd for the Ser-

vice of the Rebels. By this Time likewise the Militia in the Northern Counties were raised, and Associations and voluntary Contributions set on foot in most Parts of the Kingdom.

In the County of *York* particularly, through the timely Vigilance and Zeal of the Archbishop, assisted by the Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were raised, cloathed, and disciplined at the Expence of the County. There was likewise a considerable Body of Gentlemen Volunteers on Horseback, who served at their own Expence, put in Motion under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorpe*, stiled the *Royal Hunters*. In *Scotland*, the Lord President of the Court of Session, *Duncan Forbes* Esq; distinguished himself by his Zeal and Activity, in distributing Commissions for raising several Independent Companies in the North, which were to be put under the Command of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Loudon*; so that by the end of the Month, there was an Army of 14,000 Men formed in the North of *England*, and a very considerable Body raised in the North of *Scotland*, for the Security of *Inverness*, *Fort William*, and other Garrisons there; which military Preparations, joined to the loyal Spirit which shewed itself in all Parts of the Nation, and more

par-

particularly at *London*, very probably disappointed the Designs of the Disaffected, hinder'd many from joining the Rebels, and even drew off some who had gone to *Edinburgh* with that Resolution. This was not much considered at that Time, but we have Reason to judge so since: and therefore there is no Cause to censure the Expence the Nation was put to by these Levies, tho' they did not enter on immediate Service; they shewed the Sense of the People, they protected the King's well-meaning Subjects, and awed the *Highlanders* for some Time.

On the first of *November*, the young Chevalier came to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, and caused the noble Palace there belonging to his Grace the Duke of *Buccleugh*, and which is reputed one of the finest Houses in *Scotland*, to be prepared for his Reception, and there he fixed his Head Quarters, as lying very conveniently either for sending Spies or Detachments, to see what was doing in the North of *England*. He had however but cool Encouragement, some refusing to read his Letters, and several of his Emissaries being seized at *Newcastle*, *Berwick*, and at other Places. He detached two advanced Corps from thence, one of which marched towards *Pennycook*, and the other to *Loanhead*,
both

both Places being in the Way to *Peebles* and *Carlisle*; these Detachments escorted their Baggage and Ammunition in about one Hundred and Fifty Carts and Waggon, and near the same Number of Sumpter Horses. On the Fifth their Forces began their March Southwards in three Columns.

At this Time the Duke of *Perth* (as he styled himself) had the Title of General, Lord *George Murray* had the Post of Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, who is eldest Son to the Earl of *Wemyss*, commanded those that were about the Person of the young Pretender, and were styled his Life-Guards; the unfortunate Earl of *Kilmarnock* acted as Colonel of Hussars; and Lord *Pittsligo* had the Command of the *Angus* Horse.

But though, in regard to their Interests, these People were honoured with those Commands, it was known that the Pretender confided entirely in a few Persons, most of whom came over with him. At the Head of his Councils was Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, who has been long about him, an *Irish* Gentleman, of a middle Age, and reputed a Man of Capacity; Col. *Sullivan*, who had been a little while in the *French* Service, and was somewhat of an Engineer; General *Macdonald*, an *Irish* Officer, who was his

Aid

Aid de Camp; Mr. Kelly, who was so long in the Tower on the Affair of the late Bishop of *Roche-ster*; and Mr. Murray of *Broughton*, who acted all along as his Secretary. The Number of Men that the Pretender had with him at this Juncture, hath been so very differently reported, that it is not easy to assign it with any Certainty; but according to the most authentic Accounts we have had since, they seem to have been about seven Thousand, some of whom, when they consider'd the Dangers to which they were exposed, deserted. But notwithstanding this and other Disappointments, the Rebel Chiefs continuing firm in their first Resolution, began to pass the *Tweed* on the sixth, and the same Day their advanced Guards entered *England*.

His Excellency Field Marshal *Wade* was by this Time arrived at *Newcastle*, had formed the King's Army there, and would have marched to fight the Rebels, if he had not found it necessary to be first inform'd whether they really intended to invade *England*, and which Rout they meant to take, that of *Newcastle*, or *Carlisle*. He caused likewise a Declaration to be published, promising Pardon to such of the *Highlanders* as returned to their Duty by the 12th of *November*, and took such Precautions for the Security of the adjacent Country, as obliged

obliged the Rebels, who were too far advanced to think of retiring into *Scotland*, to throw themselves into the Western Road, to which their People in general, and most of their Chiefs, seem'd at first to be least inclin'd.

The Rigour of the Season, their late forced Marches, and a kind of Flux among the Soldiers retarded the Operations of the King's Troops for some Time ; but good Quarters, proper Refreshments, and the extraordinary Care of their Officers soon overcame those Difficulties, and put the Army into so good a Condition, as enabled them to go through the Winter Campaign with fewer Inconveniencies and much less Loss than could be reasonably expected, considering the great Hardships and excessive Fatigues to which those Corps particularly that had served all the Summer in *Flanders*, were exposed.

On the seventh of *November*, the Rebel Army advanced to *Halybaugh*, and from thence sent out Parties to scour the adjacent Country. On the 8th they came to *Langton*, and on the 9th they appeared on a Moor two Miles from the City of *Carlisle*. This Place, which is the chief Town in *Cumberland*, was formerly very strong, and considered as

a Bul-

a Bulwark against the *Scots*. The best Part of its old Walls were standing; and the Castle, tho' an ancient irregular Fortrefs, had such remains of Strength, that in the Opinion of Colonel *Durand*, who commanded there, it was tenable against a better Army than that of the Rebels. In point of Force, there was the whole Militia of the two Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, and some Invalids in the Castle; so that when the young Pretender summoned them, they absolutely refused to give up the Place; upon which the Rebels filed off towards *Bramton*, where they spent some Time in consulting what was to be done.

It is said that the Officers were inclined to march on, but the Men shewing a Desire to return to *Carlisle*, it was not judged advisable by their Superiors to cross their Inclinations; and therefore, after cutting a great deal of Wood for Fascines and Scaling-Ladders in *Corby* and *Warwick* Parks, they on the thirteenth began to move back towards *Carlisle*. The Place in all Probability might even then have made a Defence, but the Threats of the Rebels had such an Effect, that the white Flag was hung out, and the Town capitulated on the 15th, and the Castle too was given up; but the Governor took Care to withdraw, as disliking the Terms,

and persisted in his first Opinion, that the Place might have been defended. Thus this City fell into the Hands of the Rebels, who immediately caused the Pretender to be proclaim'd, and put a Garrison into the Castle under the Command of the Duke of *Perth*, who was declared Governor of *Carlisle*, and so continued all the Time the Rebels were in *England*.

As soon as Marshal *Wade* had Intelligence at *Newcastle* of the Rout which the Rebels had taken, he resolved, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, to march from thence to the Relief of *Carlisle*; and accordingly on the sixteenth the Army began to move for that Purpose. His Excellency intended to have begun his March as soon as it was light, but moving from the Left, the *Swiss* Troops had the Van, which delayed their Motions several Hours, to the great Prejudice of the Expedition; for the Weather being excessively cold, attended with a deep Snow and a hard Frost, the Troops suffered very much. The Major Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorp*, and the Brigadiers *Cholmondeley* and *Mordaunt*, marched on Foot at the Head of the Infantry to encourage the Soldiers. It was eight at Night, and very dark, before the Front Line got into the Camp at *Ovington*;

and

and tho' the Soldiers march'd with great Chearfulness, yet the Roads being terribly broke and full of Ice, it was foreseen that many of the last Column might drop through excessive Fatigue; and therefore the Major Generals *Huske* and *Oglethorp*, sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts to assist the Rear Guard, and bring up the tired Men; in which Service they were employed till near nine the next Morning.

On the seventeenth the Marshal continued his March to *Hexam*, where he arrived with the first Line about Four in the Afternoon; but the Rear of the Army did not come up till near Midnight. His Excellency having Intelligence that *Carlisle* had surrendered, resolved to march back to *Newcastle*, and accordingly he did; but the Weather continuing bad, and the Roads being become in a Manner impassable, he did not arrive there with the Army till the twenty-second; and even then, the Forces under his Command were so excessively fatigued, that if it had not been for the great Care taken of them by the People of *Newcastle*, who shewed the utmost Zeal and Affection in providing them Quarters, they must have been in a great Measure ruined by this fatiguing March.

This Invasion of the Rebels having thrown all the Northern and Western Parts of the Kingdom into great Confusion, Directions were given for forming another Army in *Lancashire*, which it was at first intended should be commanded by Sir *John Ligonier*, Knight of the *Bath*. The following new-raised Troops, viz. The Duke of *Montague's* and the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse; the Duke of *Ancaſter's*, Earl of *Cholmondeley's*, Earl of *Berkley's*, Earl of *Halifax's*, Lord *Gower's*, and Lord *Herbert's* Regiments of Foot, together with eight old Regiments, were assigned for this Service, and ordered to march into *Staffordshire* directly. The City of *Chester* was also put into a Condition of Defence, in a surprising short Space of Time, by the Care and Diligence of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Cholmondeley*. At *Liverpool* likewise, all necessary Precautions were taken, and the Inhabitants of that Town shewed all the Spirit and Resolution that could be desired.

The Rebels did not continue long at *Carlisle*; for on the nineteenth the young Pretender made his Entry into that City, and on the twentieth his Forces continued their March to *Penrith*, from whence they advanced on the twenty-second to *Kendall*; moved from thence to *Lancaster* on the twenty-fourth;

fourth, and on the twenty-seventh reached *Preston*. They were at *Wiggan* and *Lee* on the 28th, and in the Afternoon of the same Day an advanced Party entered *Manchester*, where they began to beat up for Volunteers, but with much less Success than they expected, tho' some few People joined them; and they had likewise pick'd up some Persons of desperate Fortune in their March, but however nobody of any Rank or Distinction came in, which without Doubt was a great Disappointment, for they had flattered themselves with the Hopes of a considerable Insurrection in their Favour.

On the twenty-ninth the main Body of their Army moved towards *Manchester*, and about ten in the Morning their Horse entered the Town, and the Bellman was sent about to require all such as had any public Money in their Hands to bring it in. About two in the Afternoon the young Pretender, at the Head of a considerable Body of pick'd *Highlanders*, and in their Drefs, march'd into *Manchester*, and was proclaim'd. In the Evening the Bellman was again sent about to order the Town to be illuminated, and at Night the Rear of their Army arrived; but tho' they had demanded Quarters for ten Thousand Men, it was judg'd they never had in *Manchester* above half that Number.

On

On the thirtieth a Part of the Rebel Army marched for *Stockport*, and the rest for *Knotsford*; they carried off all the Horses they cou'd meet with in the Neighbourhood of *Manchester*; at Night several Parties cross'd the River *Mersey* at different Places over Bridges made of Trees and Planks laid across, in framing of which they compell'd the Country People to assist them. It is very remarkable, that in their whole Progress no Discoveries could be made of the Routs they intended to take, because they were never given out above an Hour before their March began; and neither Officers nor Soldiers knew over Night where they were to go, or what Service they were to perform the next Morning: which Secresy in all Probability preserved them from Destruction; since however formidable they might be at a Distance, those who saw them at *Manchester* and other Places, were very far from thinking they made a dreadful Appearance.

In the mean time the Duke's Army was forming in *Staffordshire*: for upon the Approach of the Rebels it was resolved that his Royal Highness should be sent down to command the Forces in that Part of the Kingdom; and accordingly he arrived

arrived at *Litchfield* on the twenty-eighth of *November*, his Troops being at that Time canton'd with a Line of Cavalry in the Front, from *Tamworth* to *Stafford*, making a very fine Appearance, and well furnished with Artillery and whatever else was requisite for the Service. As to the Force of which his Army consisted, we can only say that the following was looked upon at that Time as the most authentic Account that could be procured.

An exact LIST of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Army.

Veteran Soldiers - - - - -	7,500.
New-rai's'd Soldiers - - - -	3,000.
	<hr/>
Foot - - -	10,500.
	<hr/>
Veteran Horse - - - - -	1,400.
New-rai's'd Horse - - - - -	800.
	<hr/>
In all - - -	2,200.
	<hr/>
Total of the Army - - -	12,700.

The Army under the Command of Field-Marshal *Wade* began to move towards the latter End of the Month, the Cavalry having reached *Darlington* and *Richmond* by the twenty fifth: and on the twenty-ninth, Marshal *Wade* with the Infantry

was

was at *Perſbridge*, from whence he propoſed to march to *Wetherby*, and there to canton the whole Army in the adjacent Villages; looking upon this as the moſt convenient Situation either for diſtreſſing the Enemy in caſe they ſhou'd attempt to retire, or for co-operating with his Royal Highneſs's Forces as Occaſion ſhould require. By theſe well-concerted Diſpoſitions, all Apprehenſions of Danger were in a great Meaſure taken off, and the Country People began every where to recover their Spirits, and to put themſelves in the beſt Poſture of Defence they could, in caſe of their being viſited by theſe *Highland* Invaders. Such was the Situation of Things at the Cloſe of laſt *November*; and we are now to return to the Progreſs of the Rebels ſo long as they continued to perſiſt in their wild Deſign of advancing into *South Britain*.

On the firſt of *December*, the young Chevalier with the main Body of his Army and all his Artillery, entered *Maccleſfield*; and at this Time the greateſt Part of the Rebels really expected an Engagement, as appeared by their ſcaling, firing, and putting in Order their Pieces all the Afternoon and Evening of that Day. But what were the true Intentions of the Chevalier and his Councils of War it is impoſſible to ſay, ſince at firſt it was believed

they intended to march into *Wales* ; but perceiving that if they should accomplish that Scheme, they should certainly be shut up there, and reduced to great Necessities in a mountainous Country with which they were not acquainted, they abandon'd this Project as impracticable. On the second, about 2000 of their Foot passed by *Gowfworth*, and about the like Number of Horse and Foot entered *Congleton*, from whence they sent a Detachment to *Asbburn*, as if they had an Intention to have struck off to *Newcastle Underline*. The next Day however, these two great Bodies of their Forces advanced, one of them to *Leek*, and the other to *Asbburn*, within fifteen Miles of *Derby*.

On the fourth in the Morning, the Pretender's Son entered *Derby* with near 500 Horse and about 2000 Foot, and in the Evening the rest of their Forces, their Artillery, and their Baggage arrived there likewise ; but with all the Precaution possible, to hinder any exact Account from being taken of their Numbers, which was a Point they laboured with the utmost Diligence during their whole March. On their first coming into *Derby*, it was judged both from the Measures they took, and from the Behaviour of their Chiefs, that they were still disposed to march on. In the Evening however, they held

E

several

several Councils of War, in which the Disputes among their Chiefs rose so high that they could not be concealed ; yet they agreed upon nothing that Night, except levying the public Money, which they did with unusual Circumstances of Terror and Violence. The next Day they continued at *Derby*, and about Noon another great Council was held in the Presence of the young Pretender, in which, as it was afterwards known, a final Resolution was taken of returning back into *Scotland*.

It is natural to suppose, that at the Time when such Councils are held, all imaginable Care is taken to preserve Secrecy ; but it may be as easily apprehended, that, considering what has since happened, the Particulars of those Consultations might well steal abroad ; and as we have learned from such as had occasion to receive very good Informations, the Factions that reigned ever after in the Rebel Army first discovered themselves, or at least broke first out openly here. In the last great Council of War the Question was stated by Col. *O Sullivan*, *Whether they should continue to advance into England, or whether it might be more advisable to think in time, and while it was yet practicable, of a good Retreat ?* He understood, it seems, from what had passed in the former Council

cil of War, that this was the sole Point in Debate, and as such he proposed it.

The Chiefs of the Clans expressed themselves warmly for the Affirmative. They said, that hitherto they had been successful in all their Undertakings; that at *Preston-pans* they had opened a Passage into *England*; that by taking the City of *Carlisle* they had added Reputation to their Arms; that by slipping *Marshall Wade* they had gained an Opportunity of marching on, and that it was not at all improbable, as they had seized *Swarkston-Bridge*, they might slip the Duke of *Cumberland* also; that the Capital was the Kingdom; that no-body knew what their approaching it might produce; but that there was no Difficulty in foreseeing, that by a Retreat they should lose their Credit, their Discipline, the Advantages they had gained, their Plunder, and, what was worse, their Spirits; besides what was worst of all, the War would follow them and lay waste their Country.

But the *Lowlanders* and the *French* Party (as they began then to be stiled) were absolutely for a Retreat, and that without delay. They said, that they had been deceived into marching so far as they already had done into *England*, by having Hopes

given them of great Risings in their Favour; that they had already done all that could be expected from them, and therefore it was Madness to do more; that the *French* landed in *Scotland* (the Troops under Lord *John Drummond*) and those in the Country of *Perth*, being united to their present Army, they might well maintain themselves in *Scotland*, and retake *Edinburgh*, which would do them much more good than to push on with one Army on their Flank, another in their Rear, and a third in Front. For they had been informed, and really believed, there was a numerous Body of the King's Forces arrived at *Nottingham*, independent of the Duke's Troops.

Upon this they were going to put the Question, when the young Chevalier interposed, and observed there might be a middle Way taken. But before he proposed it, he highly commended the Courage of the Clans, who (he said) had often excelled others, and now themselves. He added a kind of Apology for the *Lowlanders*, who he said had Reason on their Side, and that slipping and marching to *London* was at best a dangerous, and might prove a desperate Measure. He observed therefore, that the Armies they had to deal with were separate, and that they might take their Choice of fighting
which

which they pleased; and if they were so lucky as to come off victorious, it would give them Room, encourage such as were for them to declare, and open for them a clear Passage either backward or forward, according to which Army they fought. He was heard with deep Silence, but little Attention, and then the former Question was put.

On the Division, those for the Retreat had a Majority, and immediately insisted that Orders should be delivered for that Purpose, which gave Occasion to some very high Words, and at last some of their Chiefs (the Clans especially) drew their Swords, and probably some Mischief had been done, if the Pretender himself had not interposed, and with much Difficulty pacified both Sides. It was observed by the People of the Houses where their principal Commanders quarter'd, that upon the Rising of this last Council their Chiefs looked very dejected, and that some of them railed at the *French* and *Irish* about the young Pretender, and others made no Scruple of saying they were betray'd. This is certain, that whatever was the Matter, they were thenceforward always diffident of each other, and that the Pretender himself was afterwards not much considered, and but indifferently obey'd.

There

There was a very just and curious Calculation made of their Numbers while they staid at *Derby*; which was the more easy, because they remained there longer, and were more regularly quartered than in any other Place during their whole March; and therefore I have judged it requisite to give a place here to that Calculation. It was made by the principal Inhabitants of the Town in all its Parishes; and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the first Night and the second, so that the small Difference between those Calculations plainly shows how much they may be depended on, since it is impossible that any considerable Mistake should have happened therein, considering how near they approach each other.

<i>First Night.</i>	<i>Parishes.</i>	<i>Second Night.</i>
1,590	- St. Warburg's - - -	1,641.
2,979	— All Saints - - - - -	3,027.
1,001	- - - St. Peter's - - - - -	1,001.
724	- - - St. Michael's - - - - -	724.
714	- - - St. Alcmund's - - - - -	755.
<hr/>		<hr/>
7,008.		7,148.

N. B. *Women and Boys excluded.*

It was during their Stay at *Derby* that the Rebels began first to shew that kind of Spirit, which appeared afterwards so plainly, and the Effects of which made such deep Impressions on the Minds of the People, as are not easily to be worn out. For having been informed during their Stay here, that a Subscription had been set on foot in that Town for the King's Service a little before their Arrival, and that the Money was paying in, they found means to procure a Copy of this Subscription Roll, and when they were thought to have quitted the Place, sent back a Party to levy such Sums as were mentioned in that Roll, under pain of Military Execution. They were very assiduous in providing themselves with Cloaths, Stockings, Shoes and other Necessaries while at *Derby*; and it cannot be believed that such Customers would pay the full Value for all they had, so that the Difference between their Price and the just Price of the Commodities and Manufactures they took, might be considered as a second Contribution. They also endeavoured to levy Men here, beat up publicly for that purpose, with little Success, since there were not above three who lifted in the Town, and those of the very lowest of the People in point of Morals as well as Condition. Which shows how
low

low their Credit was brought, and might possibly be amongst the Reasons which all together determined them to delay their Retreat no longer.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, at the Head of the King's Forces, took all imaginable Pains to force the Rebels to a decisive Engagement; and when that was found impossible, to hinder their March into *North Wales*, or to alarm the Nation by continuing their Incurfion, and advancing farther into the Heart of the Kingdom. In order to effect the former of these Purposes, his Royal Highness advanced to *Stone* upon the first Advice of the Rebels being at *Congleton*; but when it appeared that their true Design was to march to *Derby*, the King's Forces moved towards *Northampton* to intercept them in their Rout Southwards; and having been informed that the Rebels had possessed themselves of *Swarkston-Bridge*, his Royal Highness encamped on the 6th with the greatest part of the Forces on *Meriden Common*, between *Colehill* and *Coventry*.

In the mean time, his Excellency Field-Marshal *Wade* had marched the Army under his Command to *Wetherby*, where he encamped on the 5th;

5th; and the same Day Orders were given for the Horse and Dragoons to proceed to *Doncaster*, whither the Foot were to follow them. These Dispositions afforded sufficient Reason for the Rebels to retreat, since whoever considers them attentively, will find, that in the first Place, it would have been very difficult for them to have proceeded farther without meeting with and being obliged to fight the Duke's Army, which was what they never design'd; and on the other hand, if they had succeeded in their Scheme, and by some Means or other continued their March without coming to a Battle, it must have ended in their absolute Ruin, since a Delay of two or three Days would have rendered their Retreat Northwards altogether impossible.

Before we proceed farther, it is requisite to observe, that the second Son of the Pretender being arrived in *France*, there were about this Time vast Preparations made for the Invasion of this Kingdom; and though by the timely and prudent Precautions taken by the Lords of the Admiralty they were prevented, and more especially by the Vigilance of Admiral *Vernon*, who was intrusted with the Command in the Channel; yet they occasioned a great deal of Confusion,

and proved in that Respect of some Service to the Rebels ; but in another Sense, they were of Service to the Nation ; since they not only kept alive, but heighten'd that Spirit of Zeal and Loyalty, which had appeared from the breaking out of the Rebellion, and of which all Ranks and Degrees of People gave at this Time such lively Testimonies, as were sufficient to convince even our Enemies, that his Majesty reigned in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, as well as over their Persons.

Yet in *North Britain* the Flame of Rebellion began again to spread itself, by the Assistance of the *French* ; for Lord *John Drummond* having landed with about five hundred Men at *Aberdeen*, *Peterhead*, and *Montrose*, he was very soon joined by that Body which Lord *Lewis Gordon* had been raising in the North, as well as by other of the disaffected Clans, such as the *Mackenzies*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Farquharsons*, and the *Frasers*, to the Number of between two and three thousand Men ; with which Forces he drew down towards *Perth*, about the Time the young Pretender was at *Derby*. The Earl of *Loudon*, who was at the Head of a small Body of Men for the King's Service in the North, spared no Pains or

Dili-

Diligence in exciting the well-affected Clans to join him; and by the Reinforcements he received from the *Macleods*, the *Grants*, the *Monroes*, the *Sutherlands*, and the *Guns*, he was soon two thousand strong. At *Edinburgh* likewise, and at *Glasgow* they began to raise Men for the Service of the Government with great Chearfulness and Success; so that two good Regiments were compleated, besides several independent Corps; as will be seen more at large, when we speak of the Measures taken by the Government in *North-Britain* to suppress the Rebellion.

After the Rebels had executed their Purpose of raising Money on the Town of *Derby*, they returned to their Resolution of endeavouring to retire into *Scotland* by the same Road they came; and accordingly marched on the 6th of *December*, 1745, to *Ashburn*, from whence they moved the next Day to *Leek*, destroying in their Passage whatever they judged might be of Use to the King's Forces that were in Pursuit of them, and shewing a warm Spirit of Resentment for the Disappointments they had met with, thereby provoked the Country People to do them all the Mischief they could. They carried with them a Train of Artillery, consisting of fifteen small Pieces of Cannon and one Mortar.

On the 8th in the Evening their Van-Guard reached *Manchester*, and the next Morning the young Chevalier and the Main of his Forces came thither, where they were not received as they had been before, but on the contrary, the Town's People, or at least the Mob, gave them some pretty visible Marks of their Dislike, which was instantly punished by an Order or Precept in the Name of the Chevalier, and signed and sealed by Mr. *Murray* his Secretary, directed to the Constables and Collector of the Land-Tax for the Towns of *Manchester* and *Salford*; requiring them to collect and levy by the next Day at Noon, the Sum of 2,500 Pounds, to be paid to the said Mr. *Murray*, with a Promise of Repayment, however, when the Country should be peaceably settled under his Government.

On the 10th they continued their March by *Pendleton Pole* towards *Leigh* and *Wiggan*, which last Place they reached on the 11th, and push'd on from thence to *Preston* the next Day; being extremely apprehensive of finding themselves surrounded in that Neighbourhood. On the 13th in the Morning they quitted *Preston*, and continued their Rout to *Lancaster*; and on the

14th

14th they moved from thence to *Kendal*, which they entered about ten in the Morning, and where they met with a bad Reception, for the Town's-
People fired upon their Huffsars, killed one, and took two Prisoners. Their Van-Guard continued their March from thence to *Shap* in their Way to *Penrith*; but seeing the Beacons every where lighted, and being informed that it was done to raise the Country, and that the People were disposed to fall upon them on all Sides, they thought proper to return to *Kendal*, which they accordingly did about two in the Morning.

On the 15th the Pretender with all his Forces arrived there, and began to march from thence for *Penrith* on the 16th by Break of Day; Lord *George Murray* commanding the Rear-Guard, as he had done during the whole March. They intended to have reached *Penrith* that Night, but finding it impracticable, they thought fit to halt at *Shap*, where we shall leave them for the present, that we may better give the Reader an Account of the Motions of the King's Forces, in order to overtake them.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* having certain Intelligence on the 7th of *December*,
that

that the *Highlanders* had begun to move Northward, put himself the next Morning at the Head of all the Horse and Dragoons, with 1000 Volunteers, in order to follow the Rebels from *Merriden*, and stop them till the Foot came up. On the 9th, Sir *John Ligonier* marched with the Brigade of Guards, and the Regiment of *Semple* to *Litchfield*, pursuant to his Royal Highness's Instructions.

On the 10th, the Duke arrived at *Macclesfield* with two Regiments of Dragoons, having a Body of 1000 Foot at no great Distance, from whence he sent Orders to *Manchester*, and other Parts of the Country, that nothing might be neglected that could contribute to retard or distress the Enemy. On the 11th, Major *Wheatley* was detached with an advance Party of Dragoons to harraß the Rear of the Rebels, and to join the Light-armed Troops that were expected from the other Army; the Motions of which shall be next accounted for to this Time, after which the whole Pursuit was entirely under his Royal Highness's Direction.

His Excellency Field-Marshal *Wade* having received certain Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Rebels, and of the Situation of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highness,

held

held on the 8th of *December* a great Council of War at *Ferry-Bridge*, to consider of the most effectual Means for cutting off the *Higblanders* in their Retreat; and in this Council of War it was resolved to march directly by *Wakefield* and *Hallifax* into *Lancashire*, as the most likely Way of intercepting the Rebels. But arriving at *Wakefield* on the 10th, and having Advice that the main Body of the Rebels were at *Manchester*, and their Van-Guard moving from thence towards *Preston*, his Excellency finding that it was now impossible to come up with them, judged it unnecessary to fatigue the Forces by hard Marches; and therefore detaching Major-General *Oglethorpe* on the 11th with the Cavalry under his Command, he began his March with the rest of his Forces for *Newcastle*.

On the 13th, a great Body of the Horse and Dragoons that were, as has been said, under Major-General *Oglethorpe*, arrived at *Preston*, having marched 100 Miles in three Days over Snow and Ice, which was a noble Testimony of Zeal and Spirit, especially in the new-raised Forces. His Royal Highness arrived about One at the same Place, and immediately gave his Orders for continuing the Pursuit of the Rebels with the utmost Diligence. On the 14th, accordingly General *Oglethorpe* advanced

vanced towards *Lancaster*, which Place they reached on the 16th; General *Oglethorpe* continuing his Pursuit at the Heels of the Rebels. On the 17th the Major-General was at *Shap*, and his Royal Highness entered *Kendal*, having now more Hopes of coming up with the Enemy, than at any Time during the March; and the Dispositions made by the Duke for this Purpose, were such, as shewed not only the greatest Intrepidity, but also the utmost Penetration and military Capacity.

On *Wednesday* the 18th of *December* in the Evening, part of the Cavalry with his Royal Highness came up with the Rebels after ten Hours March a little beyond *Lowther-Hall*, which they had quitted on the Approach of the King's Forces, and threw themselves into the Village of *Clifton*, about three Miles from *Penrith*; where they had great Advantages from the Situation of the Place, and from some decay'd broken Walls, which serv'd them instead of Retrenchments. His Royal Highness, however, caused the Village to be immediately attacked, by the first Forces that came up, which were the King's own Regiment of Dragoons, and part of the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, who behaved extremely well upon this Occasion; and in an

Hour

Hour's Time drove them out of the Place, tho' a very strong and defensible Post.

The Loss of the Enemy could not be certainly known, because it was quite dark before the Affair was over. There were forty of the King's Forces kill'd and wounded, and amongst the latter four Officers, viz. Col. *Honywood*, Capt. *East*, Cornet *Owen*, and Cornet *Hamilton*. On the Side of the Rebels, there was one Captain *Hamilton* taken Prisoner, who was much wounded. It was so dark, and the Country so covered, that it was impossible to pursue them with any Probability of Success that Night; and the next Morning about seventy of the Rebels were made Prisoners; nothing but the Quickness of their Retreat having saved the rest, and that too with great Difficulty.

While their Rear-Guard was engaged with the King's Forces at *Clifton*, the main Body of the Rebels were at *Penrith*, and so apprehensive of being overtaken, that at Ten o'Clock at Night they ordered their Artillery and Baggage to advance towards *Carlisle*; and on the 19th in the Morning they entered that City, excessively fatigued and in much Confusion. The Rebels did not continue long there, but contented themselves with putting

a sort of Garrison into the Place, composed of between four and five hundred Men, most of them being those that had join'd them in *England*, and which they had formed into a Corps under the Title of the *Manchester Regiment*.

The main Body of their Army continued their March towards *Scotland*, passing the River *Esſk*, tho' very high, which cost many of them their Lives : and on the 20th and 21st, they again entered *North-Britain*, leaving those they had thrown into *Carlisle* to shift for themselves as well as they could, and without any Hopes of Succour. These pretended at first that they would make an obstinate Defence ; and having most of their Artillery with them, they mounted them on the Walls, took Possession of the Castle, and carried into it all the Provisions they could find, leaving the Inhabitants little or none to sustain them ; so that they were in the utmost Distress, being able to draw no Relief from the adjacent Country, because the People were sensible that whatever they sent them, would be taken from them by the Rebels. They did not however continue long in this deplorable Condition, being relieved from it by the speedy Arrival of the King's Forces, who soon put an End to the Dispute, and restored the People of *Carlisle* to the King's Protection.

On

On the 20th of *December* his Royal Highness's Forces advanced to *Hesket*, which is eight Miles from *Carlisle*, where they were joined by St. *George's* Dragoons. On the twenty-first, about Four in the Morning, the whole Army marched in four Columns towards *Carlisle*, which was already invested, and in the Evening they arrived before that City, and took up their Quarters in the Villages round about it. Field Marshal *Wade* having Intelligence of what had passed at *Clifton*, detached a considerable Body of Foot to join the Duke's Army, and gave such other Orders as were requisite for hastening thither the Artillery and Ammunition that might be necessary for carrying on the Siege.

On the 26th, Part of the Cannon expected from *Whitehaven*, arrived, and the utmost Diligence being used, they began on the 28th to play with six eighteen Pounders upon the Place. In the Night of the 29th, they raised a new Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, that began to play in the Morning, upon which the Rebels hung out a white Flag, and offered to capitulate; but his Royal Highness would grant them no other Terms than these, *That they should not be put to the Sword,*

but reserved for his Majesty's Pleasure : To which, about Three in the Afternoon on the 30th, one *John Hamilton*, who stiled himself Governor of *Carlisle*, agreed, and Brigadier *Bligh* immediately took Possession of the Town with a Detachment of four hundred Guards, seven hundred Foot, and one hundred and twenty Horse.

The Rebel Officers yielded themselves Prisoners immediately, and their Men retired into the Cathedral without Arms, where they had a Guard set over them, till his Royal Highness could otherwise dispose of them. Such was the Issue of this wild Undertaking, and so soon were those, who pretended to defend the Place to the last Extremity, reduced to surrender it and themselves Prisoners at Discretion.

A List of the Rebel Officers, &c. taken at Carlisle.

<i>Englsh.</i>	<i>Scotch.</i>	<i>French.</i>	<i>Artillery.</i>
Colonel 1	Governor 1	Officers 3	Brass $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pounds
Captains 5	Surgeon 1	Serjeant 1	with Carriages 6
Lieutenants 5	Captains 6	Private Men 4	Brass Octagon
Ensigns 7	Lieutenants 7	—	with Carriage 1
Adjutant 1	Ensigns 3	—	Brass 4 Pounds
Non-Commission	Non-Commission	—	with Carriages 3
Officers, private	Officers, private	112	Brass Cohorns 4
Men, &c. 93	Men, &c. 256	274	Royals 2
112	274	In all 394	16

While

While the Rebels were doing the Business of the *French* in the North, vast Preparations were still made on the Coast of *France* and *French Flanders*, for invading this Kingdom ; and the Informations which the Government received of their Embarkations, particularly at *Dunkirk*, induced his Majesty to give such Directions as were necessary for appointing proper Alarm-Posts, at which the Troops were to assemble, and such Signals as were requisite for assembling them ; and at the same time a Proclamation was issued, commanding all Officers, Civil and Military, to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first Approach of the Enemy to direct all Horses, Oxen, Cattle and other Provisions, to be driven and removed twenty Miles from the Place where the Enemy should attempt to land ; and such Regiments of regular Troops as were at this Time quartered in and about *London*, were ordered down to the Coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*.

These wise and timely Precautions, joined to the Zeal and Spirit shewn by the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Maritime Counties, had so good an Effect, together with the Diligence used by the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, that served on Board the Squadron then in the Channel,
that

that the Designs of the *French* were totally defeated, notwithstanding they frequently changed their Schemes, which served only to fatigue their Troops excessively, and to distress their Subjects to the last Degree, by ruining the little Trade still left in that Kingdom.

As Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the rest of the Rebel Chiefs in *Scotland*, were all this time labouring with great Diligence, as well as much Violence, to draw together a considerable Force in order to join the Pretender on his Return into that Country ; the King's loyal Subjects there shewed the greatest Zeal and Spirit, in exerting their utmost Endeavours to raise Troops to oppose them. The City of *Glasgow* particularly distinguished itself upon this Occasion, by levying fifteen Companies of sixty Men each at their own Expence, and having compleated them by the beginning of the Month of *December*, they marched from thence under the Command of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hume*, for *Stirling*.

The City of *Edinburgh* also having received his Majesty's Licence for that Purpose, raised a thousand Men for the King's Service ; and the Earl of *Lowdon* with the Forces under his Command, marching

ing from *Inverness*, obliged a Body of the Rebels to raise the Blockade of *Fort-Augustus*, which they had formed under the Command of the Son of Lord *Lovat* ; and at the same time the *Macleods* and *Monroes* scoured all the North of the Rebel Parties, as far as to within twelve Miles of *Aberdeen*. Such were the Transactions in *South* and in *North-Britain* to the Close of the last Year, when the Rebels having been obliged to fly out of *England*, began again to gather Strength in the West of *Scotland*, and to resume their Design of attacking *Stirling* Castle, though without Effect.

The Rebels having passed the River *Eske*, divided into two Bodies ; the lesser, consisting of about two thousand Men, marched on the 20th of *December* to *Ecclefechan*, and from thence the next Day to *Moffat*. The larger Body, of about four thousand, proceeded to *Annan*, near the Sea-side, and on the 21st marched to *Dumfries*, where they continued all the next Day, and about eight in the Morning on the 23d they moved Northwards.

At *Dumfries* they demanded two thousand Pounds immediately ; and tho' this was remonstrated against, as a Thing not only hard, but

impracticable, yet it was peremptorily insisted on, and at last eleven hundred was accepted in ready Money, and two Gentlemen were taken away as Hostages for the other nine hundred. On the 23^d they halted at *Drumlanerig*, and thence continued their March to *Glasgow*, at which City they arrived on the 25th.

In the mean time, the Northern Rebels were moving towards *Perth* under Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*, and some other of their Chiefs ; so that now it appeared plainly their Design was to collect all their Strength upon the *Forth*, in order to besiege *Stirling* Castle. This Body of the Rebels had some Artillery, Ammunition, and Money with them, which had been landed from on board some *Spanish* Privateers, and brought from the West Coast to *Perth*, which they fortified for a Place of Arms ; fitting out an armed Sloop there, as they did the *Hazard* which they had lately taken, and another stout Privateer at *Montrose*.

We left the main Body of the Rebels at *Glasgow*, and to the Sorrow of the Inhabitants of that City, they continued there several Days. We must naturally imagine the Condition of these People remarkably

markably unhappy, as having their Enemy within the Walls, and many Circumstances attending their Situation, capable of filling them with very uneasy Apprehensions. For in the first Place, this City had been always considered as the head Quarters of the Whigs in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James II.* and had been thereby exposed to very indifferent Treatment : In the next, it has been always since the Revolution, and more especially since the Union, the best-affected Place in *North-Britain* to our Establishment, and so reputed : Lastly, even since the breaking-out of the present Rebellion, they had not only shewn the greatest Loyalty to the Government, had not only raised a Regiment for its Service, but had also marched that Regiment to *Edinburgh*, (and thereby left themselves defenceless) for fear the Rebels might force them to disband it.

Such was the State of this Place at this critical Juncture, when the young Pretender entered it at the Head of all his Forces, and had thereby the Inhabitants at his Mercy. But how sensible soever they might be of their Danger, they did nothing contrary to their Duty to deliver themselves ; on the contrary, they shewed very visible Signs of Sorrow and Sadness ; and the Chevalier, though

he often appeared in Publick, was scarce attended so much as by a Mob.

It is not at all surprizing, that the Behaviour of the Rebels at *Glasgow* should, all these Provocations considered, be rather worse than in other Places, and so it was. They found themselves in a very rich City, abounding in whatever they wanted, and therefore they considered it as a Magazine, and began to furnish themselves immediately with Broad-cloth, Tartan, Linnen, Shoes and Stockings, to the Amount of ten thousand Pounds Sterling; so that by this Means the Pretender in a manner new cloathed his Army, which proved a great Means of keeping them together, otherwise, in all Probability, the greater Part of them would have dispersed.

On the Third of *January*, having finished their Business at *Glasgow*, and glean'd up what they could, it was judged high Time to remove, and accordingly they marched that Day to *Kilsyth*. The next they proceeded to *Bannockburne*, and on the Fifth, having now the best Part of their Forces together, they summoned the Castle and Town of *Stirling* to surrender. General *Blakeney* answered, that he would defend the Place to the last
Extre-

Extremity, and as he had lived he was determined to die a Man of Honour. The Town, which is indeed of no great Strength, after some Time spent in Treaty, surrendered, and the Rebels entered it upon the Eighth, when having again summoned the Castle, to as little Purpose as before, they took a final Resolution of besieging it in Form with what Artillery they had, and accordingly prepared to put that Resolution in Execution.

His Majesty having thought fit to appoint Lieutenant-General *Hawley* Commander in Chief of his Forces in *North-Britain*, and Major-General *Huske* to command under him, the Troops that were to form the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, marched thither with so much Expedition, and whatever was requisite for their Use, or could contribute to facilitate their Motions, was so readily supplied to them on their Rout, that by the Tenth it was judged expedient to dispose things for advancing towards the Relief of *Stirling* Castle; not that this Fortrefs, which from its Situation is of some Importance, was in any Danger, for in Truth, the Rebels were but bungling Engineers, but because it would have given some Reputation to their Arms, in case they had continued this Siege for any Time without Interruption.

Things being thus disposed, the Field-Artillery ordered out, and all the necessary Preparations taken, it was resolved to begin the Operations by detaching Part of the Forces under Major-General *Huske*, to dislodge the Earl of *Kilmarnock* from *Falkirk*, where he lay with most of the Cavalry belonging to the Rebel Army. On the Thirteenth accordingly, the Forces appointed for this Service began to move towards *Linlithgow*, which they entered in the Evening, at the very Instant the Earl of *Kilmarnock* was marching in on the Side next *Falkirk* with some of his People ; but having early Intelligence of the General's Purpose and Nearness, he retired with some Precipitation.

One may very reasonably doubt, whether if the Rebels had not been interrupted, they would have been able to have prosecuted their Siege of *Stirling* Castle with any Effect ; though it must be owned they spared no Labour in getting thither their Artillery, though harassed all the time by the *Vulture* Sloop, and by small Craft filled with Soldiers, which did them considerable Damage ; neither, when it was brought thither, could they do much, their Batteries being injudiciously erected, the *Highlanders* shewing a great Aversion to that

that kind of Service, for which they are naturally unfit, and the Garrison doing them a great deal of Mischief, tho' they were able to do little or none to the Garrison, having scarce advanced their Siege at all while they staid before the Place.

But whether they might or might not have succeeded, it seems reasonable to enquire, what Advantages they proposed to themselves by becoming Masters of this Place: and these (tho' they were many) might very naturally be reduced to these three. First, it would have given them Reputation at Home and Abroad, as *Stirling* Castle is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is. Secondly, if they could have got this Place, and fortified *Pertb* tolerably, they would have secured the Country behind them for the Winter; and Thirdly, it would have afforded the Means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts on both Sides of the Island, which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from Abroad.

After General *Huske* had taken Post at *Linlithgow*, Lord *Kilmarnock* thought proper to decamp the next Day from *Falkirk*, and to retire to the main Body of the Rebel Army before *Stirling*. On the Sixteenth, General *Huske*, with the Forces
under

under his Command, and the Remains of *Gardner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, took Possession of *Falkirk*, and were followed thither soon after by General *Hawley*, and the rest of the Army. All that Day the Rebels were in continual Motion, but so that no sort of Judgment could be formed of their Intention ; some reporting they were entrenching themselves in *Torwood*, others, that they seem'd inclined to raise the Siege of *Stirling*, and many affirming they meant to advance and meet the King's Troops.

At this Distance it is easy to say, Care should have been taken to obtain better Intelligence ; but let us remember, that if an Enemy is really irresolute (as was the Case) no certain Intelligence can be obtained. Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, however, having considered the Situation of Affairs, and the several Accounts he had received, resolved to defer attacking the Rebels till the next Day, as well in regard to the Foulness of the Weather, as because he was desirous of obtaining such Intelligence as might enable him to make the most advantageous Dispositions for acting against them with his Cavalry and Artillery.

Some

Some Dragoons that had been sent to reconnoitre, returned about Noon with Intelligence, that the Rebels were actually in Motion, in order to attack the King's Forces, and by One they were seen in two Columns, about two Miles distance, endeavouring to gain some rising Grounds near the Moor of *Falkirk*. Upon this the King's Forces got under Arms, and formed as soon as the small Time they had would allow, and immediately marched to gain the Ground which the Rebels were endeavouring to reach on the Left of their Camp. This, though the Ground was above a Mile distant, they perform'd, but were scarce in Possession of it, before the Enemy came down in Order of Battle, out-stretching the King's Forces in such a manner, that the Left of one Army was opposite the Center of the other.

The King's Army being once formed, advanced in good Order, the Dragoons on the Left, and the Foot in two Lines. As soon as they came within a hundred Yards of the Enemy, the Dragoons were ordered to fall on Sword in Hand, and the two Lines of Infantry to advance. They began to move in pursuance of these Directions, but before they could put them in Execution, the Rebels

bels made a very smart Fire, which threw the Dragoons into some Disorder, and they the Foot, who made only one irregular Fire, *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* Battalions only excepted, who were presently rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondeley*, attacked afterwards by the Rebels, whom they repulsed, and at length drove them fairly out of the Field.

In the mean time Major-General *Huske*, with wonderful Prudence and Presence of Mind, drew together and formed a Body of Foot in the Rear of these two Regiments, which the Rebels seeing, did not venture to renew the Attack. General *Mordaunt* taking Advantage of this Delay, rallied and formed the rest of the Troops, in which the Officers, who in general behaved well, assisted, which prevented their prosecuting their first Advantage.

There were several unforeseen and indeed inevitable Accidents that contributed greatly to, or rather might be said to have been the sole Occasion of the Rebels gaining this Advantage. In the first Place, there was some Difficulty and Confusion in forming the King's Troops, which was succeeded by another unlucky Accident; some of the Battalions fired without Orders, which occasioned a great Confusion among the Dragoons. But the
great

great Misfortune of all was, that just as the Army began to move, there came on a violent Storm of Wind and Rain, which hindered the Men from seeing before them; and many of their Firelocks were so wet, that it is thought scarce a fifth Part of them were of Use; add to this, that they had not the Benefit of their Artillery, for the Weather having been two Days very wet, and there being a steep Hill to climb, they could not get up Time enough to do any Service in the Action; and the Commander of the Train having quitted it, most of the People who belong'd to the Horses rode away with them; so that when the Troops retired to their Camp, they found it extremely hard to carry off their Cannon.

This very Difficulty, however, very plainly proves that they were left Masters of the Field, for the Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment brought off one Piece of Cannon, and the Horses that were picked up at the Town of *Falkirk*, drew away three more, which shews they had Time enough, and were not at all molested by the Rebels; so far from it, that it was once resolved to remain in the Camp, and Brigadier *Mordaunt* had Orders to take Post there; but the Rain was so heavy, the Tents so excessively wet, and so much

of the Ammunition spoiled, that it was judged altogether inexpedient to expose the Men to the Inclemency of the Weather, and therefore it was at last determined to march them back to *Linlithgow*, purely to put them under Cover.

The Rebels returned to *Stirling* on the 18th in the Afternoon; and as it was visible that Lieutenant General *Hawley's* Design of relieving that Fortrefs was disappointed, they had a mind to try what Effect another Summons would have; but General *Blakeney* was still in the same Tone, and contented himself with repeating what he had before told them, that he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, and they should find he would die so. Upon this they began to erect two new Batteries, one upon *Gawan-Hill*, within forty Yards of the Castle, and one upon *Lady's-Hill*, upon which they proposed to mount what battering Cannon they had, which were but seven Pieces, *viz.* two eighteen Pounders, two sixteen Pounders, and three twelve Pounders; and while this was doing, they continued to fire upon the Castle with small Arms, which did little or no Mischief, tho' at the same time it exposed their Men extremely, and they suffered by the Fire of the Castle very severely, which put them
more

more and more out of Humour with the Siege; and what contributed to increase their Uneasiness was the great Want of Provisions, which obliged them to send out Parties on all Sides, to carry off what Meal they could find in any part of the Country.

The greatest Part of their Army being returned into the Neighbourhood of *Falkirk*, they sent away their Prisoners to *Down-Castle* on the twenty-fifth, except the Officers; and the *Hazard* Sloop, which was now refitted, was ordered to sail to *France* to carry the News of this Advantage, which they magnified extremely, as appeared by the Accounts that were printed of it at *Paris*. Here we shall leave the Rebels engaged in a Siege in which they made no Progress, disappointed of the Succours they expected, and very much perplexed to find Ways and Means for subsisting their Troops, which created great Murmurings and Heart-burnings among them, in order to follow the King's Troops.

On the Return of the King's Army to *Edinburgh*, a very strict Enquiry was made into the Loss sustained by the late Action, which appeared to be, Officers excepted, very small. What

was most regretted was the Death of Sir *Robert Monroe*, Bart. Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, who died of his Wounds in the Hands of the Rebels; and his Brother Dr. *Monroe*, an eminent Man in his Profession, and who attended him to the Field, merely out of fraternal Affection.

There was no Account of the Killed and Wounded published by Authority, probably because it was found difficult to collect such an Account, as many of the Soldiers who were supposed either to have been slain or taken Prisoners came dropping in afterwards for several Days. The Officers, in general, distinguished themselves extremely, and some very particularly, such as Brigadier General *Cholmondely*, who was dangerously wounded, and contracted a Palsy, from the Cold he caught in the Field.

Major General *Huske*, by his great Vigilance and Presence of Mind shewn on this Occasion, acquir'd the highest Reputation; and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was allow'd to have done all that could be expected from the most knowing and active Officer; nay, even in the Battalions where the Men did not behave so well as might have been expected, their Officers shew'd themselves to great Advantage, and gave glorious Examples of
Intre-

Intrepidity, tho' they were but ill copied. This made the Loss fall heavier amongst them, in proportion, than has been usual on the like Occasions; and by Comparison of private Letters the following List was drawn, and has been look'd upon as pretty exact.

*A LIST of the OFFICERS kill'd, wounded,
and taken Prisoners at the Battle of FALKIRK,
January 17, 1745-6.*

LIGONIER'S Dragoons.

Lieut. Col. *Whitney*.
Cornets *Monk*,
Crow.

WOLFE'S Foot.

Captains *Dalton*,
Garing,
Hamilton,
Landers,
Hale.

BLAKENEY'S Foot.

Captains *Todd*,
Kellet,
Dalrymple,
Edmondson.
Lieut. *Fairfield*.

Lieut. *Kirkson*.

HOWARD'S Foot.

Captains *Osrepo*,
Hacker.

MONROE'S Foot.

Col. Sir *Robert Monroe*.
Lieut. Col. *Biggar*.
Captains *Hall*,
Fitzgerald,
Witherall.

CHOLMONDELEY'S

Foot.

Lieut. Col. *Powell*.

HAMILTON'S Dragoons.
Cornet *Smith*.

Mr. *Monroe*, Sir *R.*'s Brother.

It happened very luckily, that as this Action proved fatal to so many Officers, it proved as fortunate to a great many others ; for the Rebels having sent most of the Officers that were taken Prisoners at *Preston-Pans* to *Glamis*, *Coupar* and *Lislie*, when they were drawing together their Forces about *Stirling*, the loyal Inhabitants of *Dundee*, and other Places, formed a Design of rescuing them, and conducting them back to *Edinburgh*, which they executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and they arrived at that City on the nineteenth, the very next Day after the Army returned thither from *Linlithgow*.

This releasing of these Officers at this Juncture was a very seasonable Service, as it visibly preserved them from being hurried by the Rebels into the North, as would undoubtedly have been the Case, if they had remained Prisoners but a very few Days longer. It was likewise a full Proof of the steady Loyalty and sincere Attachment to the Government, of those who undertook to rescue them ; since they did it at a Time when the Rebels were flushed with their late Advantage, and might be probably supposed capable of taking a very severe Revenge on such as were concerned in it, if discovered, and in their Power ;
but

but the Consequence of the Thing will best appear by giving the Reader an Account of the Persons that were thus set at Liberty.

LIST of the OFFICERS retaken from the Rebels by the Militia of the Shire of Angus.

Col. COCHRAN's Reg. of Marines.	Captains Collier, Barlo,
Lieut. Col. Whiteford.	Anderson, Corbett, Forrester.
Gen. GUISE's Regiment.	
Lieut. Patton.	Lieut. Swiney.
Ensign Wakeman.	Ensigns Cox, Goulton.
Col. LEE's Regiment.	
Capt. Lieut. Kennedy.	Lord LOUDON's Reg.
Ensign Archer.	Capt. Monroe.
	Capt. Lieut. Macnabb.
Col. T. MURRAY's Reg.	Lieut. Read.
Major Talbot.	Ensigns Grant, M'lagen,
Captain Leslie.	M'ray, Campbell.
Lieut. Wall.	
Rae.	
Ensigns Sutherland, Luse, Berne.	LIGONIER's Reg. Quarter-Masters Wist, Young.
Col. LASCELL's Reg.	
Major Savern.	

When

When the News of this Battle reached *London*, it made it necessary to provide for the immediate Extinction of so dangerous a Flame, by sending down a sufficient Number of Forces, not only to render the Army in *Scotland* more formidable than before, but to encrease its Strength to such a Degree, as to free the Nation from any Apprehensions of its Consequences, in case the Enemy should grow more numerous, or the *French* and *Spaniards* persist in their Design of attempting an Invasion for their Support in any Part of His Majesty's Dominions. It was with this View, that a Resolution was taken of embarking the *Hessian* Troops in *British* Pay, then in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, for *Scotland*; and it was also thought convenient, that to restore the Spirit of the Soldiers, to extinguish all Animosities, and encourage the Well-affected in *North-Britain*, His Royal Highness the Duke should immediately go down thither.

It is true, the embarking the *Hessians* at that Juncture, was in some Respects inconvenient, as the *French* had just discovered their Design of attacking *Brussels*; but the Necessity of restoring our internal Tranquillity, was confess'd, both at

Home

Home and Abroad, of such high Importance to the Common Cause, as well as of so great Consequence to ourselves, that this Step was generally approved, as the Consequences which have attended it shew that it was undertaken upon right Motives. I might here mention some other Methods that were made use of to frustrate the Designs of our Enemies; but as it is necessary for me to keep within due Bounds, I shall wave them for the present, in order to return again into *North-Britain*, and resume the Progress of our Army, after the necessary Preparations were made for taking the Field again, and marching a second Time to the Relief of the gallant General *Blakeney*, who still defended *Stirling* Castle with so much Constancy and Courage, as had made the *Scots* Rebels so sick of this Siege, that their Commanders found it necessary to entrust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who by this Means were excessively weakened and fatigued.

The Troops seem'd to be extremely mortified at this Miscarriage, and shew'd an earnest Desire to repair it by marching again to attack the Rebels, for which the necessary Preparations were instantly made, and the Army, in a very few Days, was in every respect in a better Condition, and

better provided than before. On the thirtieth in the Morning, to the great Surprize and Joy of the Army, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* arrived at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey amazingly expeditious considering the Rigour of the Season.

He was receiv'd with all the Testimonies of Loyalty and Affection that could possibly be expressed, the Army looking upon his Presence as a sure Omen of Victory, and all Ranks and Degrees of People being delighted at beholding a Prince with whose Reputation they were so well acquainted, and from whom they had just Reason to expect being restor'd to the peaceable Possession of those Blessings which, under the mild Government of the King his Father, they had, till the breaking out of this Rebellion, constantly enjoy'd. The Sight of the Duke banish'd all Remembrance of the late untoward Accident, and the Troops shew'd uncommon Ardour to be led, bad as the Weather was, into the Field again.

His Royal Highness review'd the Forces the very next Day, and marched them in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions, the *Argyleshire* Men, together with *Cobham's* and *Mark Ker's* Dragoons, in pursuit of the Rebels. He
quarter'd

quarter'd that Night at *Linlithgow* with eight Battalions; Brigadier *Mordaunt*, with six Battalions more, was at *Burrowstonefs*; the Dragoons lay in the adjacent Villages, and Colonel *Campbell*, with the *Argylefbire* Men, took poft in the Front of the Army towards the *Avon*. There was, at that time, a confiderable Body of the Rebels at *Falkirk*, who immediately retired towards *Torwood*, where it was given out they were to be join'd by the reft of their Forces from *Stirling*, though it was afterwards known there never was any fuch Intention. The next Morning his Royal Highnefs made the neceffary Difpofitions for profecuting his March, at which time all the Officers and Soldiers expreffed the greateft Eagernefs and Alacrity imaginable.

The March was hardly begun before Advice was brought that the Rebels, inftead of preparing for an Engagement, were actually repaffing the *Forth* with all the Diligence imaginable; and what gave Credit to this, was their advanc'd Guards retiring every where with the utmoft Precipitation. This News was foon after put out of difpute by the Noife they heard of two great Reports like the blowing up of Magazines, upon which Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detach'd with

the *Argyleshire* Men and the *Dragoons* to harrafs the Rebels in their Retreat. The Brigadier, with the Troops under his Command, arrived at *Stirling* late that Evening, where they found the Rebels had abandoned their Camp, with all their Artillery, and had blown up a great Magazine they had of Powder and Ball in the Church of *St. Ninian*; and that with so little Care or Discretion, that several of the Country People were buried in the Ruins. They likewise left behind them all the wounded Men they had made Prisoners in the late Action, and about twenty of their own sick Men; but it was so late when the King's Forces arriv'd, that it was judg'd needless to continue the Pursuit.

On the second of *February*, about one in the Afternoon, his Royal Highness enter'd *Stirling*, and receiv'd the Compliments of General *Blakeney*, and the Officers of his Garrison on that memorable Occasion; and at the same time, his Royal Highness was pleased to testify his entire Satisfaction with respect to the gallant Defence the General had made, by which a Place of so much Importance had been preserved, and the Designs of the Enemy defeated. In the mean time, the Rebels were occupied in making all the Dispatch
in

in their Power, that they might be entirely out of Reach before *Stirling* Bridge could be repaired for the Passage of the Army.

Part of them took the Road by *Tay-bridge*, towards the Hills ; the rest, consisting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, the Remains of the *French*, those commanded by Lord *Ogilvie*, and the few Horse they had, got into *Perth* the very Night that Brigadier *Mordaunt* arrived at *Stirling* ; and tho' they had taken a great deal of Pains in throwing up several Works for the Security of that Place, yet they began to abandon it, and to continue their March northwards the next Morning. Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Irish* that came from *France*, made the best of their Way towards *Montrose*, and on the third of *February* the Town of *Perth* was totally evacuated. They left behind them there thirteen Pieces of Iron Cannon, eight and twelve Pounders, nail'd up, and threw a vast Quantity of Ammunition into the River, together with fourteen Swivel Guns that had been taken out of the *Hazard* Sloop ; and set at liberty the Sailors that had been confined there from the time that Vessel was taken, but they thought fit to carry Captain *Hill*, who commanded her, along with

with them, and some few other Prisoners of the better Sort.

It is evident that this Retreat of theirs was made with the utmost Hurry and Precipitation, and yet it was barely made in Time; for on the fourth, by six in the Morning, the Bridge of *Stirling* was repaired, so that the Army passed over it; and the advanced Guard, consisting of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders and the Dragoons, marched that Night as far as *Crief*, but the Foot were canton'd in and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening, and the next Day the advanced Guards took Possession of *Pertb*. We may without danger of incurring the Suspicion of Adulation, observe, that scarce any History can shew a more illustrious Instance of the Effects of a General's Reputation than this before us, since in the Space of a single Week, his Royal Highness quitted the Court of the King his Father, put himself at the Head of the Forces in *Scotland*, and saw the Enemy flying with Precipitation before him. To endeavour to heighten this Event by any Strains of Compliment or Panegyric, would be to obscure it, the bare Recital of the Matter of Fact is the noblest Eulogium; and the only Thing that can be added

is this, that as surprizing and incredible as it may seem to Posterity, it must be at present allowed a Truth notorious to the whole *British* Nation.

The Rebels were very sensible, how much the News of this Retreat of theirs, which had so much Resemblance to a Flight, would alarm their Friends both at Home and Abroad; and therefore they dispersed several Papers to assign such Reasons for it as they judged might give it a fair Appearance, alledging, that their Men were so loaded with Booty, that they were constrained to let them carry it Home; that after so fatiguing a Campaign some Recess was necessary; and that when they had refreshed and recruited their Forces, they would not fail to make a fresh Irruption into the *Lowlands* in the Spring. But whatever Reasons they might pretend, the true Motives of their Conduct were these: They judged, that by drawing the War into the *Highlands*, they should make it extremely burthensome, and uneasy to the King's Forces, obtain frequent Opportunities of harrassing and surprising them, and have a fair Chance for rendering them weary of following them through Countries, where they thought it impossible for them to have Magazines, and other Requisites for an Army of their Force. In the
next

next Place they perswaded themselves, that the removing the War into the *Highlands*, and the Report they spread of the Severities that would be inflicted by the King's Troops, must keep their Men together, which they now found a very difficult Task; and would also contribute to increase their Strength. They had besides these another Reason, which was, the giving a fair Opportunity to their Friends the *French*, of attempting an Invasion in the South; which they flattered themselves would afford such a Diversion as would free them from all their Difficulties. And to all this might be added, that they had formed a Project of making themselves Masters of the Chain or Line of Fortifications, that run along the North of *Scotland* from Fort *William* to *Inverness*; and thereby secure the Country behind them, and at the same Time afford Means for the *French* and *Spaniards* to send them Reinforcements and Supplies, of which they had hitherto had large Promises, though but slight and ineffectual Performances.

His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, who penetrated all their Views, took the most proper Methods that could be contrived for the defeating them. He gave Orders for the Army

to march by different Roads (but in such Bodies as prevented all Danger of Surprize) to *Aberdeen*, where he proposed to fix his head Quarters, to raise Magazines, and to receive such Succours and Supplies as from Time to Time might be requisite by Sea from the South. As the *Hessian* Troops were now in *Scotland*, his Royal Highness took Care to dispose of them and some other Bodies of *English* Troops at *Perth*, *Dunkeld*, the Castle of *Blair*, Castle of *Menzies*, and other Places, by which he effectually secured the Passage into the *Lowlands*, and put it out of the Power of the Rebels to return that Way into the South. General *Campbell* with the *Argyleshire* Men, undertook the Security of Fort *William*, a Place at that Time of infinite Importance, as it secured another Passage through the West of *Scotland*, by which the Rebels might again have made their Way into *England*. These Precautions taken, his Royal Highness set out in Person for *Aberdeen*, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth of *February*.

The necessary Dispositions having been made for continuing the Operations of the War, it was judged expedient to make some Examples of such as had misbehaved, for the better Support of Discipline, at a Time when it was so necessary for

L

the

the Security and Reputation of the Army ; a Court-Martial was accordingly held at *Montrose*, by which an Officer in the Artillery, who had deserted the Train in the Action at *Falkirk*, was condemn'd to have his Sword broke over his Head by the Provost, his Sash thrown on the Ground, and himself turned out of the Army ; which was executed accordingly at the Head of the Artillery. A Lieutenant of *Fleming's* Regiment was broke for disobeying Orders, forfeiting his Word, and prevaricating before the Court-Martial, in relation to plundering the House of *Mr. Oliphant* of *Gask*, at that Time with the Rebels : so little Colour there was for the Reports spread that Plundering was connived at, if not allowed ; though nothing could be more incompatible with the Discipline of a regular Army, as well as the Constitution of the Country that Army was employed to defend.

The Rebels, in Prosecution of their Designs, made it their first Care to become Masters of *Inverness*, a Town of pretty considerable Trade on the East Side of the *Highlands*, with a good Port, and a small Fortress, sometimes called the Castle of *Inverness*, but more properly Fort *George*, to defend it. The Earl of *Loudon* was then

then there with a Body of about 1500 Men, most of them hastily raised for the Service of the Government, with whom, upon the Approach of the Rebels to within a very small Distance of the Place, he marched out in order to act offensively ; but finding that impracticable, and that the Enemy were much stronger than he expected, he judged it proper to retreat, which he did on the 20th of *February*, without the Loss of a Man, leaving two independent Companies under the Command of Major *Grant*, in Fort *George*, with Orders to defend it to the last Extremity. But it seems these Orders were but indifferently obeyed ; for the Place was soon after surrendered to the Rebels, upon which the Chevalier removed his Quarters thither, having with him about 4000 Men. This Success, and the News of surprizing some Parties of well-affected *Highlanders* not far from the Castle of *Blair*, raised their Spirits a little, notwithstanding the Badness of their Quarters, want of Pay, Scarcity of Provisions, and other Inconveniencies.

As a Proof of this, we may consider their Resolution to prosecute their original Design of reducing the Chain ; and accordingly they next attacked Fort *Augustus*, a very small Place, and

only important by its Situation between *Inverness* and Fort *William*, in which there was a very small Garrison, of no more than three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment, under the Command of Major *Wentworth*; so that it was speedily reduced, and as speedily demolished, which was the same Fate that Fort *George* had met with: a clear Demonstration that they did not think it necessary to have any Garrison in that Part of the Country. But as they were still incommoded by the Neighbourhood of the Earl of *Loudon*, who lay at their Back with only the Frith of *Murray* between them; the Duke of *Perth*, the Earl of *Cromarty*, and some of the rest of their Chief Commanders resolved to attempt the surprizing that Earl by the Help of Boats, which they drew together on their Side of the Water; and taking the Advantage of a Fog, executed their Scheme so effectually, that falling upon the King's Forces under the Earl's Command unexpectedly, they cut off some, made a few Officers Prisoners, and obliged Lord *Loudon* to retire with the rest out of *Sutherland*. But tho' these little Advantages served to make a Noise, and to keep up the Spirits of their Party, yet they did them little real Service; and their Money beginning to run short, and Supplies both at Home and Abroad failing their

their Expectations, caused great Divisions and Heart-burnings amongst them.

It is now Time for us to shew what his Royal Highness the Duke was doing at *Aberdeen*; where, though the Rigour of the Season, the Badness of the Roads, and the Difficulty of supporting so great a Number of Men as he had under his Command, were sufficient to exercise the Abilities of the most experienced Commander; yet he disposed of the Troops in such a Manner, as that he provided effectually for their Safety and Subsistence, and at the same Time took Care to distress the Rebels as much as it was possible; for the very Day after he joined the Army, he detached the Earl of *Ancram* with one hundred Dragoons, and Major *Morris* with 300 Foot to the Castle of *Corgarf*, at the Head of the River *Don*, forty Miles from *Aberdeen*, and in the Heart of the Country then in Possession of the Rebels, wherein his Royal Highness had Information of their having a considerable Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, which his Lordship had Orders to seize or to destroy; which Commission he executed very effectually; for the Rebels retiring upon his Approach, he became Master of the Place and all that was in it; but for want of
Horses

Horses to carry them off, was obliged to destroy most of the Arms, and thirty Barrels of Powder.

On the 16th of *March*, having Intelligence that *Roy Stuart* with about 1000 Foot and 60 Huffers were at *Strathbogie*, his Royal Highness ordered Lieutenant General *Bland* to drive them from thence, and at the same Time ordered Brigadier General *Mordaunt* with four Battalions and as many Pieces of Cannon to march and support the Major-General, if there should be Occasion. On the 17th the Major-General advanced to *Strathbogie*, and was almost within Sight of the Place before the Rebels had any Notice of his Approach, which alarmed them to such a Degree, that they quitted their Post and retired with great Precipitation towards *Keith*; and tho' the Evening was wet and hazy, yet the Volunteers under the Marquis of *Granby*, Colonel *Conway*, and Captain *Halden*, continued the Pursuit till it was almost dark. But this Success was attended with some little Check: For General *Bland* having detached a Captain of *Highlanders* with 70 of his Men, and 30 of *Kingston's* Horse, with Orders to clear that Place and then rejoin the Army, they, contrary to his Directions, ventured to quarter there that Night, which gave the Rebels an Opportunity

portunity of surprizing them ; for returning from *Fochabers*, whither they had retired, they surrounded the Village of *Keith* in the Night, entered it at both Ends, attacked the *Campbells* who were quartered in the Church-yard, and after an obstinate Resistance cut most of them to Pieces ; but the Cornet who commanded *Kingston's* Horse, retired with some of those under his Command ; which Accident made the Troops more careful, so that nothing of that Kind happened for the future. Indeed the Disposition his Royal Highness immediately made, put all Attempts of that Sort out of the Enemies Power, the Royal Army being divided into three Cantonments, in the following Manner, *viz.* The whole first Line, consisting of six Battalions, the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, and *Cobham's* Dragoons, lay at *Strathbogie*, within 12 Miles of the *Spey*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle*, and Major-General *Bland*. The Reserve, consisting of three Battalions and 4 Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of Brigadier General *Mordaunt*, were at *Old-Meldrum*, half Way between *Strathbogie* and *Aberdeen* ; and the whole second Line, consisting of the six remaining Battalions, and Lord *Mark Ker's* Regiment of Dragoons, remained at *Aberdeen*.

The

The Rebels being very well apprised of the great Importance of Fort *William*, (the taking of which would have made them Masters of the whole Extent of Country from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, and would besides have open'd them a Passage, as has been before observed, into *Argyleshire* and the West of *Scotland*,) resolved to leave nothing unattempted that might contribute to the Reduction of this Fortress ; and therefore ordered Brigadier *Stapleton* with a large Body of their best Men, most of their Engineers, and as good a Train as they could furnish, that Way in the Beginning of *March* ; and on the 2d or 3d of that Month about one thousand Men arrived at *Glenavis*, which is within two Miles of Fort *William*, and about this Time they took a Boat belonging to the *Baltimore* Sloop, which was employed in the Service of the Garrison. But Captain *Askew* of the *Serpent* Sloop, detaching his own Boat, with another belonging to the *Baltimore*, and a third belonging to the Garrison of Fort *William*, with about seventy Men in them, forced the Rebels from the *Narrows of Carron*, where they were posted, and made themselves Masters of all their Boats. This was on the 4th of *March*, and was a very effectual and well-tim'd Service : But notwithstanding this Check, the Rebels persisted in their

their Design of attacking this Fortrefs, and with very great Labour and Difficulty brought up their Artillery, and made the necessary Dispositions for that Purpose. As the Siege of Fort *William* was the only regular Operation of that Kind that happened during the Continuance of the Rebellion, it may not be amiss to give the Reader a regular Journal of it, as drawn up at the Time by an Officer of the Garrison; which will shew how little the Rebels were able to do against Places of any Strength, when defended by Officers of Experience, Fidelity, and Courage.

Journal of the Siege of Fort William.

MARCH the fourteenth, we began to heighten the Parapets of our Walls, on the Side where we apprehended the Rebels would attack us. This Work continued the whole Week through, till the two Faces of the Bastions were raised seven Foot high. On the fifteenth a Detachment of the Garrison, with some Men belonging to his Majesty's Sloops of War, went in armed Boats, to endeavour to destroy *Kilmady Barns*, commonly called the *Corpoch*; the Rebels thereupon flocked down in great Numbers; we fired some Swivels from our Boats, several small Shot were exchanged, we had a Sailor killed, and three Men wounded; the

M

Tide

Tide falling, this Scheme miscarried. On the eighteenth the *Baltimore*, Captain *Richard How*, went up towards *Kilmady Barns*, in order to protect the Landing our Men ; he fired several Shot, and threw some Cohorn Shells, and set one Hovel on Fire, but could not attempt Landing, for the Rebels were intrenched by a hollow Road, or Rill, and in great Numbers. The *Baltimore's* Guns being only four Pounders, had no Effect on the Stone Walls of these Barns, which the Rebels had loop-holed. We brought our People back without any Damage.

On the nineteenth we heard that the Man whom we fired at last *Sunday*, was an Engineer in Chief of the Rebels, and was dangerously wounded ; we also heard that we kill'd four Rebels at *Corpach*. Yesterday three Centinels and a Drummer of *Guise's* Regiment made their Escape from the Rebels to us ; they were taken at Fort *Augustus*.

The twentieth, several Parties covering our Turf-Diggers, had Skirmishes with the Rebels on the Neighbouring Hills ; and as both Sides skulked behind Crags and Rocks, we received no Damage, and believe we did as little. That Evening about eleven o'Clock the Rebels opened the Siege by discharging

charging seventeen Royals or small Bombs, of five Inches and a half Diameter, weighing about sixteen and eighteen Pounds each, and loaded with fourteen Ounces of Powder, from a Battery erected on a small Hill, called the *Sugar-Loaf*, about eight hundred Yards off, which, because of the Distance, did no Execution, the greatest Part of them falling short; and there were returned from the Garrison against the Rebels, eight Bombs of eighteen Inches Diameter, six Cohorns, one Twelve-Pounder, five Six-Pounders, and two Swivels.

On *Friday* the twenty-first, the Rebels finding their Batteries too far off, erected a new one at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*, about four hundred Yards off, from which between twelve and four in the Morning they discharged eighty-four of their Royals, which did little Damage, save penetrating thro' the Roofs of several Houses, beating down two Floors, and slightly wounding two Men of *Olliv's* Company, and a young Man belonging to the Garrison; and there were returned against them twenty Bombs, nine Cohorns, three Six-Pounders, and two Swivels.

On the twenty-second, the Rebels opened their Battery of Cannon from *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, con-

sisting only of three Guns of Six and Four-Pounders; but discharged only seven Times, and that without doing any Damage. About twelve o'Clock on this Day, they sent a *French* Drum towards the Fort, who upon his Approach beat a Parley; and being ordered to come near the Walls, Captain *Scot*, our Commander, asked him what he came about? To which he answer'd, that General *Stapleton*, who commanded the Siege, by Directions from the Pretender's Son, had sent him with a Letter to the commanding Officer of the Garrison, requiring him to surrender. Captain *Scot* answered, that he would receive no Letters from Rebels, and that he was determined to defend the Fort to the last Extremity. The Drummer being returned to the Rebels with this Answer, a close Bombarding ensued on both Sides, for some Hours; at last we silenced them by beating down the Battery. About ten that Night the Rebels opened a second Bomb-Battery, near the Bottom of the said *Cow-Hill*, about three hundred Yards off; from which, and their Battery upon the *Sugar-Loaf Hill*, they discharged before three in the Morning, one hundred and ninety-four of their Royals, and six Cannon against us, but without doing any farther Damage than penetrating through some Roofs. We did not return them one Shell,

but

but kept all our Men within Doors, except the Piquet, to stand by the Fire-Engine; the Governor, and most of the Officers being upon the Ramparts.

On the twenty-third, as soon as Day-light appeared, we fired twenty-three Bombs, two Cohorns, two Twelve-Pounders, seven Six-Pounders, and six Swivels at the Rebels Batteries; some of which must have torn up their Platforms. They in Return fired several Cannon upon us, but did no Harm, save shooting off the Leg of *Donald McIndeor*, of *Balinbay's* Company. About three this Afternoon some Vessels appeared with Supplies for us, and as soon as they had dropped Anchor, the Garrison all at once discharged eight Twelve-Pounders, two Six-Pounders, two Bombs, and several Cohorns against their Batteries, which were all so well levelled, that not only a great Part of their Battery was beat down, but they visibly occasioned a great deal of Confusion amongst them. The Men from the Ships saw several amongst the Rebels fall. We understood they had given out that they would burn this Place in four Hours after their last Battery was erected. All this Evening the Rebels were employed in erecting another Work or Battery, under Cover of their Cannon, but about three hundred Yards off, at the Foot of
the

the *Cow-Hill*, which was espied from the Top-mast of some of the Ships.

On the twenty-fourth, we fired but little, and the Rebels little also; we employed the greatest part of this Day in getting our Provision on Shore.

On the twenty-fifth, at Day-break, we sent out a Party to a Place about six Miles off to bring in some Cattle; the Rebels fired a good deal this Morning, and we plied them a little with our Mortars and Guns. About three in the Afternoon our Party returned, with nineteen good Bullocks and Cows. This Evening we sent off another Party of forty Men, for another Prize of Bullocks, to pass the Narrows of *Carron*, and to get off all they could from the Rebels Estates.

On the twenty-sixth, we fired slowly at their Batteries on the Hills; and as they only fired from two Guns, we concluded that we had dismounted the third. This Afternoon our Boats returned with Cattle and Sheep from the Country near *Aird-shields*; they also brought in four Prisoners, one of which was wounded; the Party burned two Rebel Villages, and *Appin's* Estate. This Night Captain *Scot* went out and damned up some Drains
near

near our Walls, in Hopes of Rainy Weather, to make a small Inundation, and with some Pioneers raised the Glacis, or rather Parapet, to seven Feet. For want of Pallisadoes we could not make a right Cover'd-way, but still this will prevent the Rebels seeing the Foot of our Walls.

On the twenty-seventh, at Day-break, the Rebels opened their new Battery of four Embrazures, but only with three Guns Six-Pounders, with which they fired very briskly. We plied them with our Mortars and Guns, and silenced one Gun before eight in the Morning. About nine we set their Battery Magazine on Fire, which blew up; their Fire was mostly laid at our Buildings, which they could not reach very low. We had this Day two Men a little bruised, and the Governor's Horse wounded in the Stable. Thus in eight Days Siege and pretty smart Firing with Cannon, and three hundred Six-Inch Shells thrown at us, we have lost but one Man killed, seven wounded, and two bruised.

On the thirty-first, Captain *Scot* ordered twelve Men from each Company to march out to the *Craigs*, about a hundred Yards from the Garrison, where the Rebels had a Battery, which after some
Dispute

Dispute and the Loss of one Man only, *viz.* Sergeant *Duncan Steuart* of the *Argyleshire* Troops, they rushed in upon, and made themselves Masters of. They brought in three Brass Field-Pieces Four-Pounders, and two Cohorns, from which the Rebels threw their Shells; and brought off another Brass Cannon, a Six-Pounder, which being too heavy to drag in, they spiked and left under the Walls, whence they afterwards dismounted it by Cannon-Shot. The other large Cannon and Mortars on that Battery, they likewise spiked, and left there; and brought in two Prisoners. The Rebels still continued with five Cannon they had mounted, to give us all the Uneasiness in their Power, and destroyed the Roofs of most of the Houses; but we did not mind that, the Men being safe.

On the third of *April*, the Rebels on a sudden raised their Siege, deserted their Batteries, and with great Precipitation marched for *Inverness*; upon which Captain *Scot* detached a Party of the Garrison, which secured eight Pieces of Cannon and seven Mortars, the Enemy had left behind them. The Defeat of this Enterprize seemed to be the Prelude to the many Disasters that followed upon the Heels one of another, till their Affairs became

wholly desperate, and the Force of the Rebels was entirely crushed by the decisive Action of *Culloden*.

The Reason of this sudden and hasty Retreat of the Rebels from before this Fortress, was the Necessity the young Pretender was under of drawing together all his Forces in the Neighbourhood of *Inverness*, upon the Approach of the King's Army. But before we come to treat of the Measures taken by them after this Junction, it is requisite that we should give some Account of another Misfortune which befell them, which was no less fatal in its Consequences, than the Disappointment of their Design against Fort *William*. We have already observed that they were in great Distress for Money, and other Necessaries, and waited impatiently for a Supply from *France*; which they hoped, notwithstanding the Miscarriage of so many Vessels that had been sent them, would soon arrive on board the *Hazard* Sloop, to which they had given the Name of the Prince *Charles* Snow, and which they had Intelligence was at Sea, with a considerable Quantity of Gold on board, and a good Number of experienced Officers and Engineers, who were very much wanted.

On the twenty-fifth of *March*, this long-looked for Vessel arrived in *Tongue Bay*, into which she was followed by his Majesty's Ship the *Sheernefs*, commanded by Captain *Obrien*, who immediately attacked her. In the Engagement the *Hazard* Sloop had a great many Men killed, and many more wounded; so that not being able to maintain the Fight, she ran ashore on the Shallows where the *Sheernefs* could not follow her; and there she landed her Men and Money. The Place on which she ran on Shore (after being chased fifty-six Leagues) was in the Lord *Rea's* Country; and it happened, there was then at his Lordship's House, his Son Captain *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monro*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, Captain *Macleod*, and about eighty Men of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, that had retired thither when the Rebels attacked them by Boats, as has been before related.

These Gentlemen having animated the Soldiers to attack, notwithstanding the Superiority of Numbers, those who landed from the Prince *Charles* Snow, obtained after a short Dispute, a compleat Victory, only three or four being killed on the Side of the Rebels, and with little or no Loss on their Side. Besides five Chests of Money and a considerable

derable Quantity of Arms, they took a hundred and fifty-six Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors Prisoners, with whom they embarked on board the *Sheerneys* Man of War, and sail'd directly for *Aberdeen*, together with another Prize Captain *Obrien* had taken in the *Orkneys*. The Money, besides one Chest that was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broke, amounted to twelve Thousand and five Hundred Guineas; and amongst the Prisoners there were forty experienced Officers, who had been long either in the *French* or the *Spanish* Service.

At the same Time that the Rebels employed so considerable a Part of their Forces in attacking Fort *William*, they sent another Body under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, to make a like Attempt upon the Castle of *Blair*, the principal Seat of his Grace the Duke of *Atbol*, but a Place of no great Force, and in which there was only a small Garrison under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*; which Siege, or rather Blockade, they rais'd with the same Hurry and Precipitation on the Approach of the Earl of *Crawford*, as they did that of Fort *William*, upon the very same Day, and from the same Motives. So that we have run through all their Operations in as clear and as suc-

cinct a Manner as possible, and have shewn how all their several Bodies were drawn off in order to join the young Chevalier, and to enable him to make a Stand at *Inverness*. We shall now therefore return to the King's Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, which we left properly disposed to march as soon as the Season and Roads would permit, to put an End to this unnatural Rebellion by one general and decisive Action.

The Troops, notwithstanding the Severity of the Winter, and the Fatigues they had endured by making a double Campaign, were in the Beginning of *April* so well refreshed and in such excellent Order, that they were every way fit for Service; and so far from apprehending any thing from the Impetuosity of the Highlanders, or the Advantage they had in lying behind a very deep and rapid River, that they shewed the greatest Eagerness to enter upon Action; which tho' his Highness encouraged, and took every Measure possible for keeping up this Ardour in his Army, yet he acted with great Deliberation, and did not move till the Weather was settled, and there was no Danger that the Cavalry should suffer for Want of Forage. At length they marched on the

Eighth

Eighth from *Aberdeen*, and encamped on the Eleventh at *Cullen*, where my Lord *Albemarle* joined them ; and the whole Army was assembled, and next Day marched to the *Spey*, and passed it with no other Loss than of one Dragoon and four Women, who were all drowned thro' Hurry and Indiscretion. Major General *Husk* was detached in the Morning with fifteen Companies of Grenadiers, the Highlanders and all the Cavalry, and two Pieces of Cannon, and his Royal Highness went with them himself.

On their first Appearance the Rebels retired from the Side of the *Spey* towards *Elgin* ; whereupon the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse immediately forded over, sustained by the Grenadiers and Highlanders, but the Rebels were all got out of their Reach before they could pass. The Foot waded over as fast as they arrived, and tho' the Water came up to their Middles they went on with great Chearfulness. The Rebels appeared to be between two and three Thousand, but they did not make any Opposition either while the King's Troops were passing, or when Part of them had passed and were on the other Side the *Spey* ; for which Conduct of their's it seems very difficult to assign any Reason, unless it were that
their

their Officers being sensible that the Artillery of the King's Troops would secure their Passage, they were unwilling to run the Risk of dispiriting their Men by an unsuccessful Attempt of that Kind; and therefore chose not to dispute the Passage of the *Spey*, but to deceive their Men into an Opinion that they should be well enough able to deal with them when they had passed.

The King's Army marched on to *Elgin* and *Forres*, and from thence to *Nairn*, where they halted on the Fifteenth, and where the Rebels thought to have surprized them; but the Vigilance and strict Discipline his Royal Highness maintained, absolutely disappointed them, notwithstanding which they set Fire to and destroyed Fort *Augustus*, called in all their Parties, and prepared for a general Engagement, which followed the next Day. We have had several Accounts of this great and decisive Action; but the clearest and most distinct, as well as the most authentick, is that dispatched by his Royal Highness dated from *Inverness*, April the 18th, and to which therefore we think it best to adhere.

WE gave our Men a Day's Halt at *Nairn*, and on the 16th marched between four and

and five, in four Columns. The three Lines of Foot (reckoning the Reserve for one) were broken into three from the Right, which made three Columns equal, and each of five Battalions. The Artillery and Baggage followed the first Column on the Right, and the Cavalry made the fourth Column on the Left.

After we had marched about eight Miles, our advanced Guards, composed of about forty of *Kingston's* and the Highlanders, led on by the Quartermaster-General, perceived the Rebels at some Distance making a Motion towards us on the Left ; upon which we immediately formed ; but finding the Rebels still were a good Way from us, and that the whole Body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our March in our former Posture, and continued it to within a Mile of them, where we again formed in the same Order as before. After reconnoitring their Situation, we found them posted behind some old Walls and Huts in a Line with *Culloden-House*. As we thought our Right intirely secure, General *Hawley* and General *Bland* went to the Left with the two Regiments of Dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right Flank of the Rebels, and *Kingston's* Horse were ordered to the Reserve. The ten
Pieces

Pieces of Cannon were disposed two in each of the Intervals of the first Line, and all our Highlanders (except about one Hundred and forty, which were upon the Left with General *Hawley*, and who behaved extreamly well) were left to guard the Baggage.

When we advanced within five hundred Yards of the Rebels, we found the Morafs upon our Right was ended, which left our Right Flank quite uncovered to them. His Royal Highness thereupon immediately ordered *Kingston's* Horse from the Reserve, and a little Squadron of about sixty of *Cobham's*, which had been patrolling, to cover our Flank, and *Pultney's* Regiment was ordered from the Reserve to the Right of the Royals.

We spent about half an Hour after that trying which should gain the Flank of the other; and his Royal Highness having sent Lord *Bury* forward within one hundred Yards of the Rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a Battery to us, they thereupon began firing their Cannon, which was extreamly ill served and ill pointed. Ours immediately answered them, which began their Confusion. They then came running on in their wild Manner. And upon the Right, where

his

his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest Push would be there, they came down three several Times within a hundred Yards of our Men, firing their Pistols and brandishing their Swords. But the Royals and *Pultney's* hardly took their Firelocks from their Shoulders; so that after those faint Attempts they made off, and the little Squadron on our Right were sent to pursue them. General *Hawley* had by the Help of our Highlanders beat down two little Stone Walls, and came in upon the right Flank of their Line.

As their whole first Line came down to attack at once, their Right somewhat outflanked *Barrel's* Regiment; which was on our Left, and the greatest part of the little Loss we sustained was there. But *Bligh's* and *Sempil's* giving a Fire upon those who had outflanked *Barrel's*, soon repulsed them; and *Barrel's* Regiment, and the Left of *Munro's* fairly beat them with their Bayonets; there was scarce a Soldier or Officer of *Barrel's*, or in that part of *Monro's* which engaged, who did not kill one or two Men each with their Bayonets and Spontoons.

The

The Cavalry, which had charged from their Right and Left, met in the Center, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in Pursuit of the Run-aways. Lord *Ancram* was ordered to pursue with the Horse, as far as he could; and did it with so good Effect, that a very considerable Number were killed in the Pursuit.

As we were on our March to *Inverness*, and were near arrived there, Major General *Bland* sent his Highness several Papers, which he received from the *French* Officers and Soldiers, surrendering themselves Prisoners to his Royal Highness. Major General *Bland* had also made great Slaughter, and took about Fifty *French* Officers and Soldiers Prisoners, in his Pursuit. By the best Calculation that can be made, 'tis thought the Rebels lost two thousand Men upon the Field of Battle, and in the Pursuit.

We have omitted the Lists annexed to this Account, as well for the sake of keeping within Bounds, as because they could not be very exact at that Time, but were afterwards much enlarged. All the *French* Officers on the seventeenth signed a Writing, acknowledged themselves Prisoners of

War

War to his *Britannick* Majesty, and promising so to remain on their Parole of Honour. Amongst which were Brigadier *Stapleton*, the Marquiss *de Guilles*, whom the *Highlanders* call the *French* Ambassador, Lord *Lewis Drummond*, and about fifty more. The Loss on the Side of the King's Army was very inconsiderable, the only Persons of Note killed were Lord *Robert Kerr*, Captain in *Barrel's* Regiment, Captain *Croisset* of *Price's*, Captain *John Campbell* of *Loudon's*, and Captain *Colin Campbell* of the Militia; besides these, fifty private Men killed, and two hundred and fifty wounded.

The Number of all the Persons taken in this signal Victory were two hundred and twenty-two *French*, and two hundred and twenty-six Rebels; all their Artillery and Ammunition, with other Military Stores, and twelve Colours likewise fell into the Hands of the Victors. The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was taken in the Action; Lord *Balmerino*, at first reported to be killed, was taken soon after; and four Ladies that had been very active in the Rebellion, were likewise seized at *Inverness*; viz. Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Kinloch*, Lady *Gordon*, and Lady *Mackintosh*. Immediately after the Battle, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detached with the

Volunteers to the Number of nine hundred into the *Frazer's* Country, in order to reduce all who should be found in Arms there; and with the like View other Detachments were made into other disaffected Parts of the Country, which put it entirely out of the Power of the Rebels ever to assemble afterwards in any Body, capable of disturbing the Peace of the Country, being reduced to the Necessity of separating into small Parties, in order to shift the better for themselves. About the same Time that the whole Forces of the Rebels were thus vanquished at the Battle of *Culloden*, the Earl of *Cromarty*, his eldest Son, a great many Officers of Distinction, and about one hundred and fifty private Men were surpris'd in the North, by a very small Party of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, who sent them Prisoners on board his Majesty's Ship the *Hound*, Captain *Dove*, from *Sutherland* to *Inverness*, where they arriv'd about the Time his Royal Highness made his second Dispatch.

Thus the Flame of the Rebellion, which after being smothered for a Time in *Scotland*, broke out at last with such Force, as to spread itself into *England*, and not without Reason alarmed the Inhabitants of this Metropolis, was in a short space totally extinguished by him who gave the first

Check

Check to its Force; and who perhaps alone was capable of performing this Service to his Country, his Father, and his King. It is sufficiently known how great a Hazard the Person runs of displeasing him, who praises his Royal Highness; but the Regard we owe to Truth, Justice, and the Publick, obliges one on this Occasion to declare, that Providence particularly made use of him as its most proper Instrument in performing this Work. He it was who revived the Spirits of the People by the Magnanimity of his own Behaviour. He without Severity restored Discipline in the Army. He prudently delayed at *Aberdeen* till the Troops recovered their Fatigue, and the Season open'd a Road to Victory. He waited with Patience, chose with Discretion, and most happily and gloriously improved that Opportunity which blasted the Hopes of the Rebels, and has secured to us the present Possession and future Prospect of the wisest and best framed Constitution, administer'd by the gentlest and most indulgent Government *Europe* can boast.

The Joy with which the News of this Victory was received at *London* is not easy to be described, but it may be truly said, that it was greater and more general than any Thing that has been seen of the same Nature in our Times. At the same Time,

Time, that the middle and lower Rank of People expressed their Satisfaction, and their sincere Sense of the Obligations they lay under to the Duke, as the Author under God of their Safety; the same Spirit shewed itself in both Houses of Parliament, where on the 29th of *April* 1746, Resolutions were taken to transmit to his Royal Highness the Thanks of both Houses, which being expressed in very peculiar Terms, and his Royal Highness's Answers to them being every way worthy of the Reader's Notice and Remembrance, we judged it a Duty indispenfible to insert them, and they are as follows :

The Thanks of the House of Peers.

“ *Resolved*, That the Thanks of this House
 “ be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of
 “ *Cumberland*, for his great and eminent Services perform'd by him to his Majesty and his
 “ Kingdoms against the Rebels; and that his
 “ Royal Highness be assured of the just Sense
 “ which this House has, in how distinguished a
 “ manner the late Victory was owing to his Valour and Conduct, and to his indefatigable Zeal,
 “ Activity and Labours, in the Cause of his
 “ Royal Father, and of his Country, and of our
 “ ardent

“ardent Wishes, that his Royal Highness may
“have the Glory entirely to compleat the great
“Work which he has so successfully begun and
“carried on. —*Order’d*, That the Lord-Chan-
“cellor transmit the same to his Royal Highness.”

*Copy of his Royal Highness the DUKE’s Letter to
the Lord-Chancellor, Dated from Inverness,
May 7, 1746.*

“*My Lord-Chancellor,*

“**I** Could not possibly have received a more wel-
“come and affecting Proof of that distin-
“guished Zeal and Loyalty which the House of
“Lords has constantly shewn to His Majesty’s
“Person and Government, than by their favour-
“able Acceptance of my Endeavours for the pub-
“lick Service; and I desire you will lay before the
“House, my sincere Acknowledgments for the
“Regard they have shewn me on this Occasion.
“The Resolution and Firmness expressed by Of-
“ficer and Soldier, in His Majesty’s Army under
“my Command, deserve the highest Commen-
“dations; but the Guilt and Terror of that un-
“happy infatuated Multitude, who vainly hoped
“by unprovoked tumultuary Arms, and a con-
“temptible foreign Assistance, to shake an Esta-
“blishment

“ blishment founded in the Hearts of His Maje-
 “ sty’s Subjects, afforded us so easy a Victory,
 “ that I can only express my Gratitude for the fa-
 “ vourable Impressions with which the News of it
 “ was received by the House of Lords, whose
 “ good Opinion and Thanks I shall ever esteem
 “ as one of the most honourable Testimonies and
 “ Rewards that any Action of mine could receive.
 “ I have only to add my Thanks to yourself, for
 “ the obliging manner in which you have executed
 “ the Commands of the House of Lords, and for
 “ the good Wishes with which you have accom-
 “ panied them, of the Reality of which I am firm-
 “ ly persuaded.

“ *My Lord-Chancellor,*
 “ *your most affectionate Friend,*
 WILLIAM.”

The Thanks of the Commons ran thus :

“ Resolved, *Nemine contradicente*, That the
 “ Thanks of this House be given to his Royal
 “ Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, for the emi-
 “ nent and very important Services performed by
 “ him to His Majesty and the Kingdom over the
 “ Rebels, particularly in the late great Defeat in
 “ *Scotland* by His Majesty’s Forces, under his
 “ Royal Highness’s Command.—*Order’d*, That
 “ the

“ the said Thanks be transmittit to his Royal
“ Highness by Mr. Speaker.

*Copy of his ROYAL HIGHNESS's Letter to
Mr. Speaker. Dated Inverness, May the 7th,
1746.*

Mr. Speaker,

“ I Desire you would acquaint the House of
“ Commons with the just Sense I have of the
“ Regard they have been pleased to shew me on
“ this Occasion ; and to assure them that nothing
“ can be more agreeable to me than their Con-
“ gratulation upon the Success of his Majesty's
“ Arms, which is so authentick a Testimonial of
“ their steddy Zeal and Loyalty for his Majesty's
“ Person and Government. The Esteem and
“ Approbation of my Endeavours in the Publick
“ Service fill my Wishes, and it will always be
“ my Study to deserve the Continuance of their
“ good Opinion. I cannot enough extoll my own
“ good Fortune in being placed at the Head of
“ an Army, which expressed all along the best
“ Affections and the greatest Ardour, and crown'd
“ all by the Resolution shewn by every Officer
“ and Soldier in the Day of Action ; to which
“ (under God) our Success was owing. I return

P

“ you

“ you my Thanks for the Cordiality and Affecti-
 “ on with which you have executed the Com-
 “ mands of the House of Commons.

Mr. Speaker,

Your most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.”

The Houses of Parliament likewise addressed the King upon this glorious and important Victory ; and in the Address of the House of Commons, the concluding Paragraph ran in these Words : “ We beg Leave to assure your Ma-
 “ jesty, that your faithful Commons, truly sensi-
 “ ble of the great Benefits this Nation has received
 “ from the eminent Courage and Conduct of his
 “ Royal Highness the DUKE upon this Occa-
 “ sion ; are desirous, and will be ready to give
 “ his Royal Highness, such distinguishing Marks
 “ of Publick Gratitude as shall be most agreeable
 “ to your Majesty, and are justly due to his supe-
 “ rior Merit.”

His Majesty having considered the Nature and Import of this Address ; on the 13th of *May* following, sent the House of Commons a Message in the subsequent Terms : *viz.*

GEORGE

GEORGE R.

“THE Desire which his Majesty’s faithful
 “ Commons have expressed to shew some
 “ publick Mark of their Approbation of the
 “ Services performed by his dearly beloved Son
 “ the Duke of *Cumberland*, towards suppress-
 “ sing the Rebellion, and preserving our happy
 “ Constitution in Church and State ; has given his
 “ Majesty the greatest Satisfaction. His Majesty
 “ is therefore persuaded, that upon this Occasion
 “ he complies with the Inclination of this House,
 “ in recommending to their Consideration, the
 “ settling an Additional Revenue upon his said
 “ Son, and his Issue Male, with such Provisions
 “ as shall be judged proper.” The next Day, pur-
 “ suant to his Majesty’s Message of the 13th, the
 Commons voted (*Nem. con.*) that an Additional
 Revenue of 25,000 *l.* be settled on his Royal
 Highness *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, and on
 the Heirs Male of his Body, for the signal Services
 done by his Royal Highness to his Country ; to be
 issuing and payable out of the Duties and Reve-
 nues, composing the Aggregate Fund.—His
 Royal Highness had before only 15,000 *l.* *per An.*
 payable out of the Civil List.

P 2

We

We will now return into *Scotland*, where the Duke took all the necessary Precautions for effectually scattering the very Embers of the late Fire, that they might not be raked together again, or by the Addition of any fresh Fewel blown into a fresh Flame. With this View he sent Detachments of well-affected Highlanders and regular Troops into the wildest Countries belonging to the Clans that had been in Arms, where such as submitted were received to Mercy, and such had their Countries burn'd as stood out, and at the same Time their Cattle were driven away, that they might be the less able to subsist, and those Cattle sold for the Benefit of the Soldiers in the King's Army. These Measures had very great Consequences, the burning Lord *Lovat's* and *Cameron* of *Locheil's* Houses had a great Effect, and struck much Terror, so that in a very short Space of Time there were scarce any Parties of Rebels to be heard of, and most of their Chiefs surrendered, were taken, or found Means to escape out of the Island.

Among the first were the Marquis of *Tullabardin*, who stiled himself Duke of *Atbol*, who died afterwards a Prisoner in the Tower; Mr. *William Murray*, a near Relation of the Earl of *Dunmore's*, who has been pardoned; the Earl of *Kelly*, and
the

the Master of *Lovat*. As for Lord *Lovat*, his Father, Mr. *Murray* of *Broughton*, and many more, they were taken at different Times; but the Duke of *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond* his Brother; Lord *Elcho* eldest Son to the Earl of *Wemyss*, and several of their Associates made their Escapes by Sea, in two *French* Privateers, that were sent to carry off those who had been doing the Business of *France*, at the Expence of their Honours and Fortunes. Lord *Pitligo*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon*, retired the same way, and Lord *Ogilby*, with thirteen or fourteen more shipped themselves in a small Vessel for *Norway*, where, as soon as they arrived they were seized, by Orders from the late King of *Denmark*, but were afterwards released, retired into *Sweden*, and found Means to get from thence into *France*. Lord *George Murray* also made his Escape, but whither or in what Manner we are not able to say.

As for the young Pretender himself, he found it much more difficult to withdraw than any of his Adherents, which was the reason that he remained long behind them; and as it may be expected that a more particular Account should be given of his Adventures, we shall endeavour it without any
Mixture

Mixture of those romantick Tales that have been published on that Head.

He was in the Body of Reserve at the Battle of *Culloden*, where he is said to have had a Horse shot under him; but while the *French* were treating with the King's Troops in order to be received Prisoners of War, he mounted a fresh Horse and made his Escape. — That very Evening, being the 16th of *April*, he retired to the House of a Factor of Lord *Loval's*, about ten Miles from *Inverness*, where meeting with that Lord he staid Supper: After Supper was over he set out for *Fort Augustus*, and pursued his Journey the next Day to *Invergarry*, where he proposed to have dined, but finding no Victuals he set a Boy to fishing, who caught two Salmon, on which he made a hearty Meal, and continued waiting there for some of his Troops who had promised to rendezvous at that Place, but being disappointed he resolved to proceed to *Lochbarcige*: He arrived there on the 18th at Two in the Morning, where he went to Sleep, which he had not done for five Days and Nights; he remained there till Five o'Clock in the Afternoon, in hopes of obtaining some Intelligence, but gaining none he set out from thence on Foot, and travelled

to

to the Glen of *Morar*, where he arrived the 19th at Four in the Morning.

He set out about Noon the same Day for *Ar-rasbaig*, where he arrived about Four in the Afternoon. He remained there about seven Days, waiting for Capt. *O'Neil*, who joined him on the 27th, and informed him that there was no Hops of drawing his Troops together again in a Body, upon which he resolved to go to *Stornway*, in order to hire a Ship to go to *France*: The Person employed for this Purpose was one *Donald M'Leod*, who had an Interest there. On the 28th he went on Board an eight-oar'd Boat, in Company with *Sullivan* and *O'Neil*, ordering the People who belonged to the Boat to make the best haste they could to *Stornway*.

The Night proving very tempestuous, they all begged of him to go back, which he would not do, but to keep up the Spirits of the People he sung them a Highland Song; but the Weather growing worse, on the 29th about Seven in the Morning they were driven on Shore on a Point of Land called *Rushness*, in the Island of *Benbicula*, where, when they got on Shore, the Pretender helped to make a Fire to warm the Crew, who were almost
starved

starved to Death with Cold. On the 30th, at Six in the Evening, they set Sail again for *Stornway*, but meeting with another Storm were obliged to put into the Island of *Scalp* in the *Harris*, where they all went on Shore to a Farmer's House, passing for Merchants that were Shipwreck'd in their Voyage to the *Orkneys*. The Pretender and *Sullivan* going by the Names of *Sinclair*, the latter passing for the Father, and the former for his Son. They thought proper to send from thence to *Donald M'Leod* at *Stornway*, with Instructions to freight a Ship for the *Orkneys*. On the 3d of *May* they received a Message from him, that a Ship was ready.

On the 4th they set out on Foot for that Place, where they arrived on the 5th about Noon, and meeting with *Donald M'Leod*, they found that he had got into Company, where growing drunk he had told a Friend of his for whom he had hired the Ship: Upon which there were two hundred People in Arms at *Stornway*, upon a Report that the Pretender was landed with five hundred Men, and was coming to burn the Town, so that they were obliged to lie all Night upon the Moor, with no other Refreshment than Bisket and Brandy. On the 6th they resolved to go in the eight-oar'd Boat to the

Orkneys,

Orkneys, but the Crew refused to venture, so that they were obliged to steer South along the Coast-side, where they met with two English Ships, and this compelled them to put into a desert Island; where they remained till the 10th, without any Provision but some Salt-fish they found upon the Island.

About Ten in the Morning on that Day they embarked for the *Harris*, and at break of Day on the 11th they were chased by an English Ship, but made their Escape among the Rocks; about Four in the Afternoon they arrived at the Island of *Benbicula*, where they stayed till the 14th, and then set out for the Mountain of *Currada* in *South Uist*, where they stay'd till the Militia of the Isle of *Sky* came to the Island of *Irasky*; and then sailed for the Island *Uia*, where they remained three Nights, till having Intelligence that the Militia were coming towards *Benbicula*, they immediately got into their Boat, and sailed for *Lochbusdale*, but being met by some Ships of War, they were obliged to return to *Lochagnart*, where they remained all Day, and at Night sailed for *Lochbusdale*, where they arrived, and stay'd eight Days on a Rock, making a Tent of the Sail of the Boat. They found themselves there in a most dreadful Situation; for having Intelligence

Q

that

that Captain *Scot* had landed at *Kilbride*, the Company was obliged to separate, and the Pretender and *O'Neil* went to the Mountains, where they remained all Night, and soon after were informed that General *Campbell* was at *Bernary*; so that now they had Forces very near on both Sides of them, and were absolutely at a Loss which way to move.

In their Road they met with a young Lady, one Miss *M'Donald*, to whom Captain *O'Neil* proposed assisting the Pretender to make his Escape, which at first she refused; but upon his offering to put on Woman's Cloaths she consented, and desired them to go to the Mountain of *Currada* till she sent for them; where they accordingly stay'd two Days, but hearing nothing from the young Lady, the Pretender concluded she would not keep her Word, and therefore resolved to send Captain *O'Neil* to General *Campbell*, to let him know he was willing to surrender to him: But about Five in the Evening a Message came from the young Lady, desiring them to meet her at *Rushness*: Being afraid to pass by the Ford because of the Militia, they luckily found a Boat which carried them to the other Side of *Uia*, where they remained Part of the Day, afraid of being seen by the Country People. In the Evening they set out for *Rushness*, and arrived

rived there at Twelve at Night; but not finding the young Lady, and being alarmed by a Boat full of Militia, they were obliged to retire two Miles back, where the Pretender remained on a Moor till O'Neil went to the young Lady, and prevailed upon her to come to the Place appointed at Night-fall of the next Day.

About an Hour after they had an Account of General Campbell's Arrival at Benbicula, which obliged them to remove to another Part of the Island, where, as the Day broke, they discovered four Sail close on the Shore, making directly up to the Place where they were, so that there was nothing left for them to do but to throw themselves among the Heath. When the Wherries were gone they resolved to go to Clanronald's House, but when they were within a Mile of it, they heard General Campbell was there, which forced them to retreat again, and soon after O'Neil was taken.

We have no distinct Accounts of what became of him after this, for the Remainder of that Month and the greatest Part of the next, except that he shifted about from Place to Place in Women's Cloaths, and on the 28th of June went with the Lady whom he attended in a little Boat from

South-

South *Uist* to the *Isle of Sky*; there he resumed his own Dress, and was carried by one *Mackinnon* in a Boat to *Raga*, from whence he returned in a Boat to *Sky*, and after some Stay there, went back to the Continent. About the Middle of *July*, the Government had certain Intelligence of his crossing the Hill of *Morar* in *Lochabar*, proceeding from thence to *Badenoch*, and on the 23d of *July* he was at *Arisaig*, and continued wandering about that Country in great Distress during all the Month of *August*.

On the 6th of *September*, two *French Privateers* came upon the Coast of *Moidart*, where the Pretender first landed, and made strict Inquiry after him. Several of the *Camerons*, and some of the *Macdonalds* repair'd to them, and were employ'd to search for the Pretender; but it was the 17th before he came down to them, and was then dressed in a short Coat of black Freeze, with a Plad over it. He was in a bad State of Health, and seemed to be brought very low by the Sufferings he had gone through. He embarked the next Day about Noon, attended by the following Persons, *Macpherson* of *Clunie*, with others of his Clan, *Cameron* of *Lockiel*, Dr. *Cameron* his Brother, *Lodowick Cameron* of *Tor-Castle*, *Allan Cameron*,

meron, and Macdonald of Lochgary, with many others whose Names were not known. Macdonald of Barisdale and his Son went on Board the Ships before his Arrival.

We were first informed that these were Men of War, and afterwards that they were Privateers fitted out on Purpose at the French King's Expence; but at length it was known that they were *the Happy* Privateer of 30 Guns and 300 Men, and the Prince of *Conti* of 20 Guns and 240 Men, fitted out from St. Malo's by some of his own Adherents. They were obliged to sail round the Land's-End, where they were chased by two *English* Men of War; but escaped by the Thickness of the Weather, and on the 29th arrived in a Creek three Leagues to the West of *Morlax*, where he presently went ashore. It is very remarkable, that his Landing in *France* fell out at the very Time of our Invasion of *Bretagne*; and that a Party of General *Sinclair's* Forces were within a very few Miles of the Place where he lay the first Night.

He was so extremely fatigued, and in so bad a State of Health, that he rested a Week before he went to *Fontainbleau*, where the *French* Court then

then was, and where (if their *Gazettes* deserve any Credit) he met with a very kind Reception, had a great Sum of Money given him, a large Pension settled upon him, and mighty Promises made him; but all this was only to serve the present Turn, and to express the Resentment of the *French* Court for our Attempt upon Port *L'Orient*. For the Situation of Things changing, the Disposition of the *French* Court changed likewise; his Pension was forgot, the Complaints he made little regarded, and at last he was fairly given to understand, that the best Thing himself and his Brother could do was to retire to *Avignon*, which they accordingly did.

The eldest Brother went lately from thence to *Madrid*, and very different Accounts we have of his Reception there; some say the King refused to see him, some that he saw him twice, some that he sent him one thousand Pistoles, some that he gave him fifty thousand; but all Accounts agree, that he made a very short Stay there, had no sort of Honors paid him, but retired hastily into *France*, and what is become of him since is a Mystery that is not yet revealed.

We are now come to the last Head of what we proposed, which is, to give an Account of the legal Proceedings against the Persons concerned in the Rebellion. His Majesty's Reign had been hitherto not only unstained, but unspotted with Blood, a Thing not known from the Conquest to our Times; but now there was a Necessity that the natural Mildness and Lenity of the Government should give Place to Justice. It was become requisite for the Security of the Constitution, restoring the Vigour of the Laws, and maintaining the future Tranquillity of the Kingdom, by making Examples of such as had disturbed it. The Voice of the Nation demanded it, the Legislature had provided that this should be speedily and effectually done, by passing an Act agreeable to the Practice of former Times, for regulating the Tryals of such as had been guilty of High-Treason. The Prisons were crowded with Offenders taken in Arms, who were to be tried pursuant to this Act; and for this Purpose his Majesty issued a Special Commission of *Oyer and Terminer* to the Judges and other proper Persons, who were appointed to sit for that Purpose at *St. Margaret's-Hill* in the Borough of *Southwark*, in the County of *Surry*.

But

But as many of the Chiefs who were most guilty were not taken, a Bill of Attainder was brought into the House of Commons in the Beginning of the Month of *May*, and Witnesses were examined to prove the Guilt of the Persons named therein. After it had passed the Commons, the like Examination of Witnesses was had in the House of Lords, where the Bill was likewise passed; and on *Wednesday* the 4th of *June* his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and gave his Royal Assent to an Act for attainting the Persons named therein of High-Treason, in case they did not surrender themselves to one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, on or before the 12th of *July* following, and submit to Justice.

The Persons included in this Bill were, *Alexander Erskine* Earl of *Kelly*, who avoided the Attainder by surrendering himself, *William (Drummond)* Viscount *Strathallan*; *Alexander (Forbes)* Lord *Pitsligo*; *David Wemyss*, Esq; called Lord *Elcho*, eldest Son and Heir apparent to *James* Earl of *Wemyss*, *James Drummond*, Esq; eldest Son of Lord *Strathallan*; *Simon Fraser*, Esq; eldest Son of Lord *Lovat*, who surrendered the Day after the time limited; *George Murray*, Esq; Brother to the Duke of *Atbol*,

Athol; *Lewis Gordon*, Esq; Brother to the Duke of Gordon; *James Drummond*, called Duke of Perth; *James Graham*, called Viscount of Dundee; *John Nairn*, called Lord Nairn; *David Ogilvie*, called Lord Ogilvie; *John Drummond*, called Lord John Drummond, Brother to the titular Duke of Perth; *Robert Mercer*, Esq; alias *Nairn* of *Aldie*; *Sir William Gordon* of Park; *John Murray* of *Broughton*, Esq; taken before the Day, but admitted to surrender notwithstanding; *John Gordon* the elder, of *Glenbucket*; *Donald Cameron* the younger, of *Locheil*; *Dr. Archibald Cameron*, Brother of *Locheil*; *Eudowick Cameron* of *Tor-Castle*; *Alexander Cameron* of *Dungallon*; *Donald Mac Donald* the younger, of *Clanronald*; *Donald Mac Donald* of *Lochgarie*; *Alexander Mac Donald* of *Keppoch*, *Archibald Mac Donald* of *Barriisdale*, *Alexander Mac Donald* of *Glencoe*, *Evan Mac Pherson* of *Clunie*, *Lauchlan Mac Lauchlan* of *Castle Lauchlan*, *John Mac Kinnon* of *Mac Kinnon*, *Charles Stewart* of *Ardshiel*; *G. Lockhart*, eldest Son of *G. Lockhart* of *Carnwath*; *Laurence Oliphant*, the elder, of *Gask*; *Laurence Oliphant*, the younger, of *Gask*; *James Graham*, the younger, of *Airth*; *John Stewart*, called *John Roy Stewart*; *Francis Farquharson*, of *Monalterye*; *Alexander Mac Giliorn*, of *Drumaglass*; *Lauchlan Mac Intosh*, Merchant, of

R

Inverness;

Inverness; *Malcolm Ross*, of *Pitcalny*; *Alexander MacLeod*; *John Ray*, of *Restalrig*, Writer to the Signet; *Andrew Lansdale*, otherwise *Lumsdain*; *William Fidler*, Clerk in the Auditor's Office.

On Monday the 23d of *June*, eight of the Judges went in the usual State from *Serjeant's-Inn* to the Hall on *St. Margaret's-Hill*, *Southwark*, where they opened the Special Commission for the Trial of the Rebel Prisoners; when a Grand Jury, of which *Sir William Richardson* of *Bermondsey*, Knight, was Foreman, and three other Knights, and nineteen Esquires of the County of *Surry* were impanelled, to whom a learned Charge was given; after which they withdrew, and found Bills of Indictment for High Treason, in levying War, against the Earls of *Cromartie* and *Kilmarnock*, and against Lord *Balmerino*. At the same Time they likewise found Bills of the same Nature against thirty-seven Commoners, who had a reasonable Time given them to prepare for their Trials.

The House of Peers being informed that Bills had been found against the three Lords, directed that a Writ of *Certiorari* should be issued for bringing the said Indictments before them, and appointed also a Committee to consider of the proper Methods

thods for bringing the said Lords to their Trials. Before we proceed to the Detail of what happened in Reference to these Judicial Proceedings, it becomes absolutely necessary to take Notice of a very extraordinary Step the *French* Court thought fit to make upon this Occasion. The Reader will observe, that the Pretender's Son was at this Time in *Scotland*, that many of the unhappy Persons engaged in this Rebellion had been drawn into it, by Assurances given them that their Cause would be supported by *France*: To keep up this Notion therefore, and thereby the Spirits of these deluded People, and perhaps to hinder the good Effects that might have attended that Spirit of Tenderness and Compassion, which had always distinguished his Majesty's Administration, an Attempt was made to deter the Government from bringing these People to Justice.

Some have imagined that the Rebels themselves, by their Friends at the *French* Court, suggested this Measure; but that is very improbable, since, except in taking up Arms, they had not shewn any Signs of Weakness or Folly, of which this had been the highest Proof, since it cut them off from the only remaining Object of their Hope, his Majesty's Inclination to Mercy. Some are persuaded their Friends

at the Court of *France* procured this Interposition without their Application; but this is likewise improbable, because the true Friends of People in such Circumstances never take any Steps without consulting those to whom they relate, and who must be presumed to be the best Judges of their own Affairs. The most probable Account therefore of the Matter is, that the *French Court* did it to serve their own Purposes, as they did every thing else from the beginning of these Troubles.

The *French Minister* therefore, for Foreign Affairs, wrote a very strange Letter upon this Head, from the Camp, to the *Dutch Ambassador* at *Paris*, beseeching him to exert that sort of Eloquence, for which he is famous, upon this Occasion; which he accordingly did, but the Application was received here in the manner that might be well expected, and his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State gave the *Dutch Minister* such an Answer, as shewed how little Impression *French Threatenings* made here, and how very ill his Conduct, in this respect, was resented. These Letters are of such Consequence in themselves, and belong so immediately to this History, that we cannot avoid inserting them.

M. D'Ar-

M. D'Argenson's Letter to M. Van-Hoy.

S I R,

“THE King has ordered me to write to
 “ your Excellency, concerning the Situa-
 “ tion of Prince *Edward*, and his Adherents,
 “ since the Advantage gained over them by the
 “ *English* Troops, the 27th of last Month. All
 “ *Europe* knows the Tyes of *Parentage* which
 “ subsists between the King and Prince *Edward*.
 “ Moreover, this young Prince is endowed with
 “ all the Qualities which might engage those Powers
 “ to interest themselves in his Favour, who esteem
 “ true Courage ; and the King of *England* is him-
 “ self too just and impartial a Judge of true Merit,
 “ not to set a Value upon it, even in an Enemy.
 “ The Character of the *British* Nation in general,
 “ cannot likewise but inspire all *Englishmen* with
 “ the same Sentiments of Admiration, for a Coun-
 “ tryman, so distinguished by his Talents and he-
 “ roic Virtues. All these Reasons ought naturally
 “ to favour the Fate of Prince *Edward* ; and at the
 “ same time we may expect from the Moderation
 “ and Clemency of the King of *England*, that he
 “ will not suffer those Persons to be persecuted
 “ with

“ with the utmost Rigour, who, in a Time of
“ Trouble and Confusion, followed the Standard
“ which was lately overthrown by the *British* Arms,
“ under the Command of the Duke of *Cumberland*.
“ Nevertheless, Sir, as in the first Motions of a
“ Revolution, Resentment is sometimes carried to
“ a greater Height than in more peaceable Times,
“ the King thinks proper, as far as in him lies,
“ to prevent the dangerous Effect of any too se-
“ vere Measures which his *Britannic* Majesty
“ might take upon this Occasion. 'Tis with this
“ just View, Sir, that the King ordered me to de-
“ fire your Excellency to write to the *English* Mi-
“ nistry, and to represent to it, in the strongest
“ Manner, the Inconveniencies which must infal-
“ libly result from any violent Proceedings against
“ Prince *Edward*. The Right of Nations, and
“ the particular Interest which his Majesty takes
“ in respect to that Prince, are Motives that will
“ probably make some Impression upon the Court
“ of *London*; and his Majesty hopes to find none
“ but noble and generous Proceedings from the
“ King of *England* and the *English* Nation; and
“ that all those who were lately concern'd in the
“ Interest of the House of *Stuart*, will likewise
“ have Reason to extol the Generosity and Cle-
“ mency of his *Britannic* Majesty. But if, con-
“ trary

" trary to all Expectations, any Attempts should
 " be made, either with Respect to the Liberty of
 " Prince *Edward*, or the Life of his Friends and
 " Partisans, 'tis easy to foresee that a Spirit of Ani-
 " mosity and Fury might prove one dreadful Con-
 " sequence of such Rigour ; and how many inno-
 " cent People, before the End of the War, may
 " fall Victims to a Violence, which could only ag-
 " gravate the Evil, and would certainly set no
 " good Example to *Europe*. No body, Sir, is
 " more capable than you are, to set forth these
 " Reasons. Your Equity, and your Love of
 " Peace, will suggest to you what is best to say up-
 " on this important Subject. Your Excellency
 " must be sensible, that there is not a Moment to
 " be delay'd in writing to the Ministers of the
 " King of *England* ; and I hope you will do me
 " the Favour to communicate to me the Answer
 " you receive from them, that I may give an Ac-
 " count of it to the King, that he may take such
 " Resolutions upon this Occasion, as his Majesty
 " shall think suitable to the Glory and Dignity of
 " his Crown. He sincerely wishes, that the King
 " of *England* may give him none but Examples
 " of Humanity and Greatness of Soul, &c. "

From the Camp at Bouchout in Brabant,
 May the 26th, 1746.

Letter

Letter from M. Van-Hoy to the Duke of Newcastle, in which the former was inclosed.

My LORD,

“ I Have the Honour to send to your Excellency
 “ a Letter I just now received from M. D’ Ar-
 “ genfon, in relation to the present State of the Af-
 “ fairs of the Pretender’s eldest Son, and those of his
 “ Adherents, since the Defeat they have met with
 “ from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumber-
 “ land. Your Excellency will perceive thereby,
 “ how much that Court confides in me, what Cre-
 “ dit I, by my long Residence there, have gained,
 “ and how far it is inclin’d to believe, that my
 “ Love of Peace and Equity will furnish me with
 “ Arguments to enforce its Recommendations. I
 “ wish, my Lord, I was Master of the greatest
 “ Eloquence upon Earth, and were able effectually
 “ to employ my whole Life to convince Mankind,
 “ That by doing to others as we would they should
 “ do unto us, is the Foundation of the supreme
 “ Happiness of States, Nations, Kings, their Sub-
 “ jects, and in general, of human Kind. This is
 “ a Duty well known by your Excellency; and Pro-
 “ vidence expects from you a Compliance, from
 “ the high Station with which he has blessed you:
 “ May

“ May Persuasion flow from your Lips like Honey,
“ and every one will be convinced, that we are
“ only happy in Proportion to the Good we do to
“ others. May you, my Lord, banish that per-
“ nicious Art, which Discord has brought into the
“ World, of seducing Men to destroy one another.
“ Wretched Policy! which substitutes Revenge,
“ Hatred, Jealousy and Avarice, to take place of
“ the Divine Precepts which form the Glory of
“ Kings and Happiness of their Subjects. You
“ know, my Lord, that Courage, by way of Ex-
“ cellence, is called Virtue, and that because it is
“ founded on the Love of Happiness, and directed
“ in all its Motions by Equity, Moderation and
“ Goodness. True Heroes make their Victories
“ become profitable to those they conquer, and
“ raise for themselves immortal Trophies of Ho-
“ nour, by subduing Resentment and Revenge,
“ Passions so natural to Mankind, and so difficult
“ to get the better of. Thus has Clemency been
“ revered by wise Men in all Ages, as the most
“ magnanimous, the most useful, and the most pious
“ of all Royal Virtues. I am sensible, my Lord,
“ that I am guilty of an Indiscretion, in laying
“ before you what Wisdom, Experience and Re-
“ ligion have so strongly impressed upon your
“ Heart. It is not that I presume to add to your
S “ Con-

“ Conviction, but how is it possible to forbear
 “ insisting on a Subject which we love ? To know
 “ Truth, and be inflam’d with its divine Beauties,
 “ is, as *your Excellency* well knows, but one and
 “ the same Thing. May two so great Kings ne-
 “ ver cease to emulate which shall be the highest
 “ Example of Humanity, Clemency and Great-
 “ ness of Soul. May their Love to Mankind in-
 “ crease and add daily to their Glory, and cause
 “ it to shine with greater Splendor ; that their
 “ Subjects in particular may owe their Peace, and
 “ all *Europe* in general the Re-establishment of its
 “ Tranquillity to them ; that their Wisdom may
 “ perpetuate their Memories, and be made Ex-
 “ amples of to Posterity to the latest Ages ; may
 “ they long on Earth enjoy the just Return of hu-
 “ man kind, and more and more secure to them-
 “ selves eternal Happiness hereafter. I have the
 “ Honour to be, &c.

Paris, June 2,

1746.

His

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's Answer to
M. Van Hoey's Letter.*

SIR,

“ I Did not receive till the Day before Yesterday
“ the Letter which your Excellency was pleased
“ to honour me with, dated the 2d Instant, N. S.
“ inclosing one which the Marquis *D'Argenson* had
“ wrote to you of the 26th of *May*. I laid it im-
“ mediately before the King, who was in the
“ greatest Astonishment at the Contents of that
“ Letter, which as well in what relates to the Sub-
“ ject of it, as to the Manner of treating it, is so
“ contrary to his Majesty's Honour, and to the
“ Dignity of his Crown, that his Majesty cannot
“ but consider himself as too much offended by it
“ to make any Answer to it. You know, Sir,
“ (and so do the *French* Ministers) with how scru-
“ pulous an Exactness his Majesty has on his Part
“ executed the Cartel agreed on between him and
“ the most Christian King, in its utmost Extent,
“ even to the releasing on their Parole all the Offi-
“ cers in the *French* Service, who were made Pri-
“ soners within the Limits of these Kingdoms, and
“ who were not his Majesty's natural-born Sub-
“ jects, altho' the Service on which they were then
“ employed might very justly have excused his
“ Majesty from it. It is impossible, after this, to

“doubt of his Majesty’s sincere Desire to do every
 “thing which the Law of Nations can require be-
 “tween Powers at War with each other, even be-
 “yond what is usually practised: But as to what
 “relates to his Majesty’s own Subjects, neither the
 “Law of Nations, the Cartels, nor the Practice
 “and Example of any Country, authorize any fo-
 “reign Power at War with his Majesty, to intrude
 “themselves to make any Demand from his Ma-
 “jesty thereto. The most Christian King knows too
 “well himself the Right inherent in every Soye-
 “reign, to imagine that his Majesty can think
 “otherwise. I cannot conceal from your Excel-
 “lency his Majesty’s Surprize, to see that the
 “Ambassador of a Power so strictly united with
 “him, and essentially interested in every thing that
 “concerns the Honour and Security of his Ma-
 “jesty’s Person and Government, could charge
 “himself with transmitting to his Majesty so un-
 “heard-of a Demand. And I am very sorry, Sir,
 “to be obliged to acquaint you, that his Majesty
 “could not avoid complaining of it to their High
 “Mightinesses the States General, your Masters.

“I have the Honour to be, &c.

Whitehall, June 3d,

1746.

But

But this was not all the Mortification that M. *Van Hoey* received ; his Majesty's Minister to the States General, *Robert Trevor*, Esq; presented a Memorial to their High Mightinesses, in which he complained of the Indignity offered to the King his Master, in Terms suitable to the Offence. The States General readily promised all the Reparation and Satisfaction in their Power, and accordingly signified to M. *Van Hoey* the Sense they had of his ill Conduct, in stronger Terms than are usually employed by them to Persons in his Station ; and at the same Time signified their Pleasure, that he should write to the Duke of *Newcastle* in so submissive a Stile, as to atone for what was past ; admonishing him likewise, to avoid every thing capable of giving either Umbrage or Offence for the future.

To all this M. *Van Hoey* gave a very exact Obedience, wrote a very handsome Letter to the Duke, in which he expressed how sensible he was of his Misfortune, and having by his Indiscretion drawn upon himself the Displeasure of his *Britannic* Majesty ; and has since that Time given such Marks of the Sincerity, with which he made this Submission, as have procured him Thanks for his good Offices upon subsequent Occasions ; so that what-
ever

ever the *French* Views were in this strange Business, it is certain they were absolutely defeated. But it is now high time to quit this Subject and to return to the Thread of our Narration.

On *Tuesday* the twenty-second of *July*, the Tryals of those Rebels against whom Bills had been found at *St. Margaret's-Hill* being over, the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, in the Presence of Sir *Martin Wright*, Sir *Michael Foster*, Sir *Thomas Reynolds*, Sir *Thomas Abney*, Mr. Baron *Clive*, and other Commissioners, passed Sentence of Death upon Seventeen who had been found Guilty on their Tryals, after having had Counsel allowed them. Of these the following Eight were Reprieved: viz. *Charles Deacon*, *William Pattragh*, *John Saunderson*, *Christopher Taylor*, *James Wilday*, *Thomas Furnival*, *James Gadd*, and *Alexander Abernethy*.

On *Wednesday* the thirtieth of the same Month, the other Nine were carried on three Sledges to the Place of Execution (*Kenington-Common*) and there suffered as is usual in Cases of High Treason: viz. *Francis Townley*, Esq; of an antient Family in *Lancashire*, who acted as Governor at *Carlisle*; *David Morgan*, Esq; Barister at Law; George

George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Deacon, Thomas Deacon, John Barwick, Andrew Blood, and Thomas Siddal. They dyed with great Decency and Composure; Mr. *Townley* was the only Papist among them; the rest left Papers behind them which were not proper to be published.

The House of Lords having upon the Petition of the three Peers that were Prisoners, granted them Solicitors, and whatever was necessary for their Defence, addressed his Majesty to appoint a Lord High Steward for their Tryals. The same was accordingly done; and the Prisoners on the twenty-eight of *July* were brought before the Peers sitting in *Westminster-Hall*. The Right Hon. *Philip Lord Hardwick*, Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*, acting by his Majesty's Commission as Lord High Steward, when *Arthur Lord Balmerino* pleaded not guilty; upon which the King's Counsel opened the Indictment, called the Witnesses for the Crown, and the Fact being plainly proved, their Lordships unanimously found the Prisoner guilty.

On the thirtieth of the same Month, *William Earl of Kilmarnock* being brought before the same Judicature, made a long and moving Speech,
and

and at the same Time pleaded Guilty ; as did also *George Earl of Cromartie*. At the same Time the Lord *Balmerino* moved in Arrest of Judgment, and at his Request had Counsel assigned him to argue the Point if he thought proper. On *Friday* the first of *August*, the Lords were again brought up, Lord *Balmerino* having waved the Point he had formerly insisted upon, as being informed by his Counsel that it would be of no Service to him ; the Lord High Steward, after addressing himself in a very elegant, pathetic, and tender Speech to the Prisoners, pronounced Sentence as is usual in Cases of High Treason.

It will be expected that we should give some Account of these unhappy Noblemen, who by their Indiscretion in taking up Arms against the Government, subjected themselves to the Loss of Life, and deprived their Families of their Titles and Fortunes. The first of them, *George Earl of Cromartie*, was of the noble Family of *Mackenzie*, the Chief of which was the late Earl of *Seaforth*, who was in the last Rebellion ; his Lordship was the Grandson of the first Earl of *Cromartie*, so well known to the Learned World by the Works he published when Lord Viscount *Tarbat* ; and this unhappy Nobleman was himself the second who bore

bore that Title, his Father having never lived to enjoy it. How he came to be embarked in the Rebellion is not easy to be accounted for, as his Lordship had always warmly professed Revolution Principles, and besides was under particular Obligations, as having received considerable Favours from the present Government.

But his Lordship loved Company, and it seems was drawn by Company to do as they did; which was attended with another Misfortune, the drawing his eldest Son the Lord *Macleod*, a very hopeful and promising Youth, into the same Misfortune; who being taken with his Father at the Battle of *Culloden*, was then, and still is a Prisoner with him in the *Tower*. His melancholy Case, the several Circumstances tending to extenuate his Guilt, his sincere Repentance, the great Distress of his Family, and the affecting Situation of his Countess big with Child, being laid before his Majesty, whose generous Disposition inclines him always to see the Arguments for Clemency in the strongest Light, he was graciously pleased to reprieve him, when the other two Lords were ordered for Execution; and has hitherto spared his Life from the same Motives of Compassion, which frees us from the Necessity of saying any Thing more in relation to him, except that

T

he

he is said to have expressed all the Duty and Gratitude towards his Majesty, which so high and undeserved a Mark of Mercy ought to excite in the Mind of a Gentleman and a Christian.

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was in all respects a very unfortunate Nobleman, descended from a most illustrious Family, honoured some Ages before with several of those Titles which extinguished in him. His Father was eminently attach'd to the House of *Hanover*, took up Arms on that Side in the Year 1715, when his Son the Lord *Boyd*, tho' but Eleven Years of Age, did Duty; so that he was bred up carefully in those Principles, for disowning which he died; and there is no doubt that he was farther instructed in them at the University of *Glasgow*, where he was bred, and where he distinguish'd himself by the Liveliness of his Parts rather than his serious Application to his Studies. He had a fine Person, a polite Address, and the Manners of a Gentleman. He married, without the Consent of her Family, the Lady *Anne Livingston*, Heiress of the late Earl of *Callendar* and *Linlithgow*, by which he had a considerable Estate, as he had a small one of his own; but as he was entirely a Man of Pleasure, his Circumstances soon became narrow and uneasy, which is supposed to have been the principal Cause, joined with the Suc-

cess

cess of the Rebels at *Preston-Pans*, of his going into the Rebellion. He was highly caress'd by the young Pretender, who declar'd him a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of his Guards, and one of his Council. He was taken at the Battle of *Culloden*, and tho' at his Trial he insinuated that he surrend'rd, yet he retracted this before his Death, and acknowledged he did all he could to make his Escape. He was assist'd, while under Sentence of Death, by the famous Mr. *Foster*, who took a great deal of Pains to set him once more right in his Political Principles, so that he died a true Penitent, and express'd as much Concern as Man could do for his Miscarriage. He gave great Marks of Sincerity, by doing Justice to his Lady, who was reported to have had a great Share in persuading him to act as he did; of which, however, he fully cleared her, and in every other Respect shew'd the utmost Readiness to acknowledge his own Weakness and Infirmities, instead of excusing himself at the Expence of other People. He was in the forty-second Year of his Age, and behaved during his Imprisonment, and to the time of his Death, with great Calmness and Decency, so that he was generally and deservedly pitied.

Arthur Lord Balmerino was a Man of quite another Disposition. He was of the noble Family

of *Elphinston*, who had been educated, as he express'd it himself, in Anti-Revolution Principles; he went however into the Service in Queen *Anne's* Time, and had a Company of Foot, at the Head of which he fought in the Duke of *Argyle's* Army, at the Battle of *Dunblaine*, but afterwards joined the Earl of *Mar*. He was pardoned at the Intercession of his Father; lived privately in *Scotland* to the breaking out of the last Rebellion, into which he went very early, and in which he was engaged, when, by the Death of his elder Brother, who was a Judge, he came to the Title. He was of a warm impetuous Temper, but very open, candid, and sincere. His Fortune was very narrow, but he had a great and generous Mind. He was very firm to what he call'd his Principles, and behaved, during his Misfortunes, with an Intrepidity, and even Carelessness, which would have been unbecoming rather than laudable, if they had not plainly proceeded from his natural Disposition, and from a Temper of Mind equally incapable of Artifice and Affectation. He behaved at his Trial cheerfully and decently, nor were his Spirits discomposed in the least on the nearer Approach of Death. He entertained no Hopes of Mercy, indeed he had no great Reason; but however he did not throw away his Life, or pretend to despise the
King's

King's Favour, since, when he was last before them, he desired the Interposition of his Peers. His Lady, *Margaret*, Daughter of Captain *Chalmers*, dutifully attended him to his last Moments, and the only Concern her Lord express'd was upon her Account. She was with him when the dead Warrant came down, which found them at Table; it threw her, as might be naturally expected, into a great Agony. His Lordship did all he could to comfort her, and then said, It shall not spoil my Dinner; nor did it, which better explains this Lord's Character than could be done by a labour'd Discourse. His Lordship was in his fifty-eighth Year, had a very small Estate, and no Children to inherit either it or his Titles.

On the 18th of *August*, 1746, about Eight in the Morning, the Sheriffs *Blackford* and *Cockayne* went to the Tower to receive the Prisoners, and about Ten they were brought out. As soon as Lord *Balmerino* saw the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, he embraced him, and said, I am heartily sorry, my Lord, to have your Company in this Expedition. After he came out, hearing the People enquire which was Lord *Balmerino*, he turned towards them, and said with a Smile, I am Lord *Balmerino*, Gentlemen, at your Service. The Lords
were

were then conducted to a House prepared for their Reception, where Lord *Kilmarnock* spent about an Hour in his Devotions with Mr. *Foster*. After which Lord *Balmerino*, who desired it, was admitted to speak with him, which he did in order to remove all Credit from a Report, that the young Pretender had signed an Order for giving no Quarter at the Battle of *Culloden*. The Earl said, he knew of no such Order, but had heard there was one found signed by Lord *George Murray*. This Point settled, they embraced, and Lord *Balmerino* said, My dear Lord, I am only sorry that I cannot pay this Reckoning alone : Once more farewell for ever. The Earl was called to suffer first ; he appeared upon the Scaffold dressed in Black, with a very serene Countenance ; he said to the Chaplain of the Tower, who was with him, *Home*, this is terrible ! And perhaps he would have said the same thing had he been a Spectator. He gave the Executioner five Guineas ; prepared himself for Death with great Composure of Mind ; made a short Prayer, in which he put up a Petition for his Majesty King *George* and his Royal Family ; and kneeling at the Block about two Minutes, he gave the Signal, and his Head was severed from his Body at a single Stroke, tho' the Executioner was so much affected that he shed Tears.

When

When the Under-Sheriff came to call Lord Balmorino, he asked whether it was over with the Earl of Kilmarnock; and being told it was, he asked how the Executioner performed his Office; and when he was inform'd, said, it was well done. Then addressing himself to the Company, said, *Gentlemen, I shall detain you no longer,* and with an easy unaffected Chearfulness, saluted his Friends and hastened to the Scaffold, which he mounted with so easy an Air as astonish'd the Spectators. His Lordship was dressed in his Regimentals, a Blue Coat turn'd up with Red, trimm'd with Brass Buttons (and a Tye-Wig) the same which he wore at the Battle of Culloden. No Circumstance in his Deportment shewed the least Sign of Fear: He walked several times round the Scaffold, bowed to the People, went to his Coffin, read the Inscription, and with a Nod said, *It is right.* He then examined the Block, which he called his *Pillow of Rest.* His Lordship putting on his Spectacles, and taking a Paper out of his Pocket, read it with an audible Voice, which was so far from being filled with passionate Invectives, that he mentioned his Majesty as a Prince of the greatest Magnanimity and Mercy. Having delivered this Paper to the Sheriff, he called for the Executioner, who appearing,

pearing, and being about to ask his Lordship's Pardon, he said, "Friend, you need not ask me Forgiveness, the Execution of your Duty is commendable." Upon which his Lordship gave him three Guineas, saying, "Friend, I never was rich, this is all the Money I have now; I wish it was more, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my Coat and Waistcoat;" which he then took off together with his Neckcloth, and threw them on his Coffin, putting on a Flannel Waistcoat which had been provided for the Purpose; and then taking a Plaid Cap out of his Pocket, he put it on his Head, saying, he died a *Scotchman*. After kneeling down at the Block to adjust his Posture, and shew the Executioner the Signal for the Stroke, which was dropping his Arms, he once more turned to his Friends and took his last Farewel, and looking round on the Croud, said, "Perhaps some may think my Behaviour too bold; but remember, Sir, (said he to a Gentleman who stood near him) that I now declare it is the Effect of Confidence in God and a good Conscience, and I should dissemble if I should shew any Signs of Fear." He clap'd the Executioner on the Back, and encouraged him to do his Work like a Man, adding, that in that would consist his Kindness. He next ordered his Hearse to drive

drive near, and then knelt down at the Block, giving the Sign so unexpectedly, that the Executioner was in Confusion, and could not perform his Office under three Blows. The Execution being thus over, the Body was carry'd back to the Tower, and, together with that of the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, deposited in *St. Peter's Church*, in the same Vault where that of the Marquis of *Tullibardin* lies.

On the twenty-second of the same Month, three Rebel Officers, *Mac Donald*, *Nicholson*, and *Ogilby* were executed at *Kennington-Common*; and on the 23d the Commissioners at *St. Margaret's-Hill* resumed their Session, and Bills were found against thirty-two Persons, as also against the Lord *Macleod*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Cromarty*, and *John Murray Esq;* of *Broughton*, the Pretender's Secretary, who were not brought up, as being intended to experience his Majesty's Mercy. The greatest Part of these unfortunate People were found guilty; and, that we may finish this Subject at once, we shall observe, that on *Friday* the 28th of *November*, Sir *John Wedderburn*, Bart. *John Hamilton*, Esq; *James Bradshaw*, *Andrew Wood*, and *Alexander Leith* were executed; Colonel *Farquharson* and *Thomas Watson* being reprieved in

the Morning, and *James Lindsay* just as he was going into the Sledge. This was the last Execution in the Neighbourhood of *London*, of such as were condemned by the King's Commissioners in *Southwark*.

As for the Rebels that were Prisoners in the North, they were tried partly at *Carlisle*, and partly at *York*, the Assizes being open'd at the first-mentioned City on the 12th of *August*, before the Lord Chief Baron *Parker*, Mr. Justice *Burnet*, Mr. Justice *Dennison*, and Mr. Baron *Clark*, and continued by proper Adjournments, (that of the 9th of *September* being after they returned from *York*) to the 26th of the same Month, when the whole of their Business was finished there, when ninety-one received Sentence of Death, twenty-six were acquitted, and twenty-nine discharged, no Bills being found against them. On *Saturday* the 18th of *October* were executed at *Carlisle*, *Thomas Cappock* a Clergyman, *John Henderson*, *John M'Naughton*, *James Brand*, *Daniel M' Daniel* of *Kinloch Moidart*, *Daniel M' Daniel* of *Faran Rush*, *Francis Buchannan* of *Arnprior*, *Hugh Cameron*, and *Edward Roper*. And on *Tuesday* the 21st were executed at *Brampton* near *Carlisle*, *Peter Taylor*, *Michael Delaird*, *James Forbes*,

Forbes, Richard Morrison, Alexander Hutcheson, James Innis, Donald M'Donald, Peter Lindsey, and Thomas Park. On Saturday December the 15th *Sir Archibald Primrose, Bart.* and ten others were executed at *Carlisle*.

The Proceedings at *York* before the Lord *Irwin*, Lord Chief Baron *Parker*, *Sir Thomas Burnett*, &c. began on the 2d of *October*, and ended on the 7th, when there were seventy Persons received Sentence of Death. On the first of *November* following, the after-named ten Persons were executed there, viz. *George Hamilton, Edward Clavering, Donald Frazer, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Mayne, William Conolly, William Dempsey, Angus M'Donald, and James Sparks.* They died decently; two of their Heads were set upon *Michlegate-Bar*, and Captain *Hamilton's* sent in a Box to *Carlisle*. On that Day Sevensnight, there were Eleven more executed at the same Place, and on the 15th *James Read* suffer'd there by himself. These, with seven other Persons that were executed at *Penrith*, were all the Rebels that died in the *North*; many of those that were condemned have been pardon'd, and the rest are to be sent to the Plantations.

On *Friday* the 21st, *Charles Ratcliff, Esq;* was brought under a strong Guard in a Coach,

from the *Tower* to the Court of *King's-Bench* in *Westminster-Hall*, to be arraigned on his Sentence in the Year 1716, when he escaped out of *Newgate*. He pleaded that he was a Subject of the King of *France*, in which Country he had resided thirty Years, and had his Commission; and that he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, meaning that he was Earl of *Derwentwater*; then a Jury was ordered to be impannell'd to find him the identical Person. On *Saturday* the 22d, Mr. *Ratcliffe* being brought up to the Bar of the Court of *King's-Bench* was again arraigned, but refused to hold up his Hand, or acknowledge any Jurisdiction but that of the King of *France*, insisting on a Commission he had in his Pocket from the *French* King, and appealing to his *Sicilian* Majesty's Minister, who was present in Court; but on hearing his former Indictment and Conviction, which were read to him in *English*, he said he was not the *Charles Ratcliffe* therein named, but that he was the Earl of *Derwentwater*; and his Council informed the Court, that this was the Plea he relied on; to which the Attorney-General replied with his Averment of his being the same *Charles Ratcliffe*, and thereupon Issue was join'd. Then the Council for the Prisoner mov'd to put off his Tryal upon his own Affidavit (to which

which he had subscribed *The Count de Derwent-water*) that two of his material Witnesses, naming them, were abroad, without whose Testimony he could not safely go to Tryal. This Affidavit not proving satisfactory, because the Prisoner did not therein aver, that he was not the Person formerly attainted, a Jury was impannelled, one of whom he challenged peremptorily, which the Court disallowed; then the rest of the Jury were sworn, and after a clear Evidence of the Indentity of the Person on the Part of the Crown, the Prisoner producing none on his Part, the Jury withdrew about ten Minutes, and then found their Verdict, that he was the same *Charles Radcliffe* who was convicted of Treason in the Year 1715. Then the Attorney-General moved to have Execution awarded against the Prisoner on his former Judgment; to which the Prisoner's Council objected, tendering a Plea of Pardon by Act of Parliament in Bar of Execution. But the Court said, as he had already pleaded such a Plea as he chose to rely on, and as that was found against him, nothing more remain'd for them to do at present, but to award Execution, and ordered a Rule to be made for the proper Writs for his Execution on the 8th of the next Month, and in the mean Time remanded the Prisoner to the Tower.

This

This unfortunate Person was in the Fifty-third Year of his Age, and may be truly said to have passed through a very stormy and troublesome Life. He was the younger Brother of the unhappy Earl of *Derwentwater*, who suffered for the last Rebellion in the Year 1715. They were the Sons of Sir *Francis Radeliff*, by *Mary Tudor*, natural Daughter to King *Charles II.* by *Mary Davis*, descended from the ancient and noble Family of the *Radeliffs* Earls of *Suffex*. He was a Prisoner in *Newgate*, and under Sentence of Death, when his Brother suffer'd; but after receiving several Reprieves, made his Escape from thence when his Life was in no Danger. He went immediately to *France*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he did not continue long, which was said to be owing to the Warmth of his Temper, and falling into frequent Quarrels; he returned to *Paris*, where he married the Widow of Lord *Newburgh*, by whom he had a Son, who was taken, and continued some Time a Prisoner with him in the *Tower*. His rough Behaviour at his Trial, which seems to have been purely the Effects of his natural Temper, left no room for Pardon. He was informed of this by a Letter from his Neice, the Lady *Pette*, on the 4th of

of *December*, and thereupon changed his Behaviour entirely, desired the Assistance of one Mr. *Baker* to prepare himself for Death, which he met with the Calmness of a *Stoic*, and the Resignation of a Christian.

On Monday the 8th of *December* all Things were put in order for his Execution, tho' the Notice was so short that the Carpenters were forced to work on the Scaffold on *Sunday*, and all the following Night. In the Morning about Ten o'Clock, the Block with a Cushion, both cover'd with Black, were brought up and fix'd on the Stage, and soon after Mr. *Radcliff's* Coffin, cover'd with black Velvet, with eight Handles, which with the Nails were gilt with Gold, but there was no Plate or Inscription upon it. At near Eleven the Sheriffs, Mr. Alderman *Winterbottom* and Mr. Alderman *Alsop*, with their Officers, came to see if the Scaffold was finish'd, and if every Thing was prepared for Mr. *Radcliff's* Reception; which being to their Satisfaction, they went to the Tower and demanded the Body of Mr. *Radcliff*, of General *Williamson*, Deputy Governor; upon being deliver'd he was put into a Landau, and carried over the Wharf, at the End of which he was put into a Mourning Coach, and convey'd

convey'd into a small Booth, joining to the Stairs of the Scaffold, lined with Black, where he spent about half an Hour in Devotion; and then, preceded by the Sheriffs, the Divine, and some Gentlemen his Friends, came to the Place of Execution.

When he came upon the Scaffold, he took leave of his Friends with great Serenity and Calmness of Mind; and having spoken a few Words to the Executioner, gave him a Purse of ten Guineas, and put on a Damask Cap, kneel'd down to Prayers, which lasted about seven Minutes, all the Spectators on the Scaffold kneeling with him: Prayers being over, he pulled off his Cloaths, and put his Head to the Block, from whence he soon got up, and having spoke a few Words, he kneel'd down to it, and fixing his Head, in about two Minutes gave the Signal to the Executioner, who at three Blows struck it off, which was received in a Scarlet Cloth held for that Purpose. He was dressed in Scarlet faced with black Velvet trim'd with Gold, a Gold laced Waistcoat, and a white Feather in his Hat. He behaved with the greatest Fortitude and Coolness of Temper, and was no way shock'd at the Approach of Death; on the contrary, he met it with the utmost Serenity and Composure. He
was

was buried on the 11th at Night in *St. Giles's* in the Fields, near the Remains of his Brother.

The last Person we have to mention upon this Occasion is, *Simon Lord Frazer of Lovat*, who being taken in the Highlands and sent up Prisoner to *London*, remained a long Time confined in the *Tower*; and as the Adventures of the former Part of his Life made his Lordship's Story pretty well known, there is no Need that we should dwell long upon it here.

He was certainly a very extraordinary Man, and as he took care to make himself known in his Youth by carrying off the *Lady Lovat*, so he distinguished his Middle-Age by the Conduct he pursued in *Scotland* during the last Rebellion, in the Suppression of which, without Doubt, he had a very large Share, at least this was the Sentiment of the late *Earl of Mar*, whose common Saying it was, that *Lovat* broke all his Measures. When near Forty, he engaged in the Rebellion, for which he was impeached by the House of Commons, who charged him with several Acts of Treason, such as engaging in traiterous Designs so early as 1719; sending over Agents to manage his Schemes in Fo-

reign Countries ; accepting Commissions and a Patent creating him Duke *Frazer*, from the Pretender to his Majesty's Crown ; corresponding with his Son ; raising his Clan, &c. All which Lord *Lovat* positively deny'd by his Answer.

The King having appointed the Lord Chancellor Lord High Steward, his Lordship was brought to his Trial on Monday the 9th of *March* last, and being unanimously found Guilty by his Peers, the House of Commons on the 19th of the same Month demanded, and his Lordship received Judgment in the usual Manner ; on the 3d of *April* the Dead Warrant came down for his Execution, and he suffer'd accordingly on the 7th. He kept up not only his Spirits but his Gayety to the very last, and died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*.

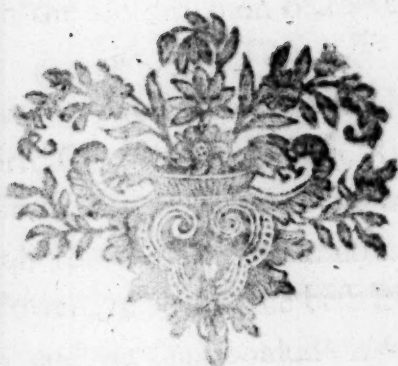
Thus we have brought this History down from the first Comtrivance of the Rebellion abroad, to the Death of the last Person who suffered for it, with all the Clearness, Candour, and Exactness in our Power, and from the best Lights we could procure ; and we shall conclude it with a hearty Wish, that nothing of the like Kind may happen for the future ; but that the *British* Nation may live in the
 quiet

quiet Possession of their Laws, Liberties, and Properties, under the auspicious Government of the ROYAL FAMILY, till Time shall be no more ; with a continual Increase of Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity at home, and of Respect and Glory abroad.

F I N I S.



disturbance of their Laws, Liberties, and Pro-
 perties, under the auspices of Government of the
 ROYAL FAMILY, till Time shall be no more; with
 a continual Increase of Peace, Plenty, and Progre-
 ss at home, and of Respect and Glory abroad.



This Day is published, Price 1s.

The Third Edition,

Revised and Corrected, of

The STATE of the NATION for 1748,
which finishes the Civil Observations on the Civil
and Political Rights to the Colonies of the
Year.

INCLUDING

Remarks on the Peace of 1748, the Public
Treasury Estimates, and a General Balance of the
Public Accounts.

GIBRALTAR, &c.

Printed for M. Cooper at the Globe in Pall-mall.
Revised.

Where may be had the three Numbers for the preceding
Years in complete Sets.

M. B. One printed Year of the Nation is come to hand, who
over-embroidered the Printer or Publisher, so as that he or
they may be sold for 1s. 6d. per Copy. Apply to M. B. at the
Coffee House, St. Martin's Lane.

[Price Eighteen Pence.]

This Day is published, Price 1s.

The Third EDITION,

Revised and Corrected, of

The STATE of the NATION for 1748,
which finishes the *Critical* Observations on the *Civil*
and *Political* Transactions to the Conclusion of the
Year.

INCLUDING

Remarks on the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, the *Parliamentary* Estimates, and a general *Balance* of the
Public Accounts.

Alitur vitium crescitque regendo. Virg.

Printed for M. COOPER at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster*
Row.

Where may be had the three Numbers for the preceding
Years to complete Sets.

N. B. One pirated *State* of the *Nation* is come to hand, who-
ever can produce the Printer or Publisher, so as that he, or
they, may be duly convicted, shall receive *fifty* *Guineas* Re-
ward. Apply to L. Z. at *Old Slaughter's* Coffee House St.
Martin's Lane.

g
or
t.